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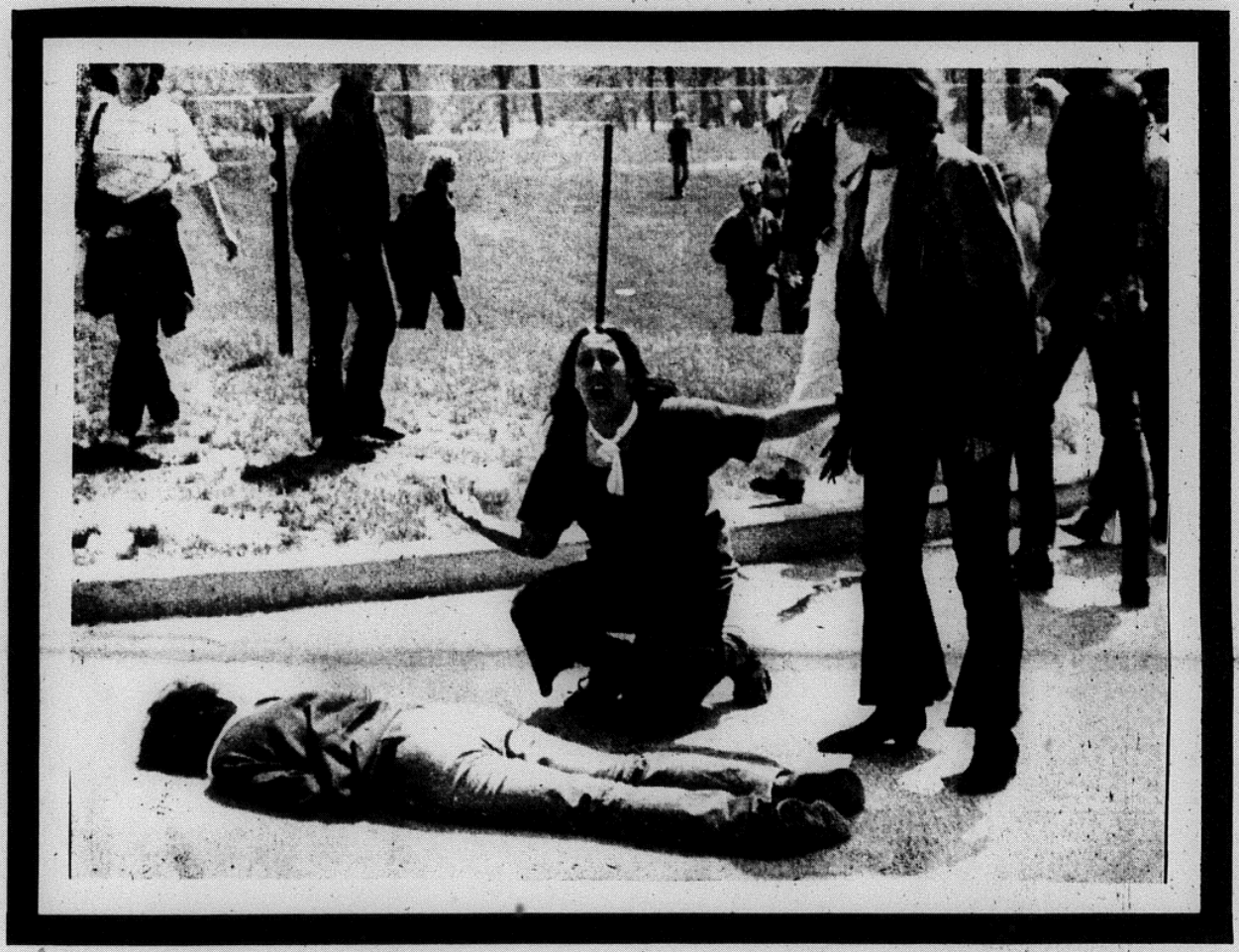

President Nixon's decision to extend U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia to ground combat in Cambodia has triggered a nationwide strike by millions of students. In the greatest outpouring of radical student sentiment ever seen in the U.S., students have taken to the streets to try and stop the government's war against the people of Asia and its policy of extermination of the Black Panther Party within the U.S.

As four students lay dead on the campus of Kent State University — shot down in cold blood by National Guardsmen — students everywhere participated in rallies, pickets, fasts, building occupations, vigils, marches and teach-ins — as well as ransacking and burning of ROTC facilities.

Throughout the country, demonstrations and political activity have focused on three main demands:

1. That the United States government end its systematic oppression of political dissidents and release all political prisoners such as Bobby Seale and other members of the Black Panther Party.
2. That the United States government cease its escalation of the Vietnam War into Cambodia and Laos, that it unilaterally and immediately withdraw all forces from Southeast Asia.
3. That the universities end their complicity with the U.S. war machine by an immediate end to defense research, ROTC, counterinsurgency research, and all other such programs.

In contrast to earlier protests, the outstanding feature of these demands is their overall view of the government, the courts, and the universities as parts of a system of oppression and genocide rather than as misguided but essentially worthy institutions.

The students out in the streets, the veterans of The Day After, moratoriums, Chicago '68, the Pentagon '67, the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade '66, Selma '65, Mississippi '64 and unnumbered hosts of other demonstrations knew that the government would not listen to them, could not in its own self interest, and that only by fighting it would the government be changed. And, predictably enough, people with a stake in that government, the President, Senators, corporation presidents, university administrators, and rich and well-fed people everywhere have done what they could to obscure that analysis and divert anti-imperialist action into meaningless channels.

The Nixon administration in particular has done everything it could to mollify students, except confront the truth of their analysis. One week student demonstrators were called "bums" by the President; the next week they had become "concerned Americans." Where the Kent State murders were first hailed as "the inevitable consequence when peaceful dissent turns to violence," by the end of the week they became "the tragedy at Kent State."

The very administration which by its policies and its actions has done its best to turn white against black, rich against poor, old against young, and workers against students, began talking of a need for reconciliation. The same President who tells us that we must murder thousands of people in Southeast Asia to get peace was saying that violence gets nowhere and that all Amerikans

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OUTLAW 2

Alice Cooper, MC5 Play Local Gig

By Marvijuanna

The last few years have seen a haphazard and uncontrolled explosion in the area of the record industry dealing with rock music. Due to the fanatic and frantic talent hunts conducted by zealously jealous competing companies, mountains of monotonous vinyl have descended to prey on the pocketbook of the hapless would-be-hip. Banality appears to be the rule instead of the exception. We find our ears and eyes continually exposed to ever-increasing scores of less than mediocre ineffectual nonentities.

This sad state of affairs was gratefully relieved recently by the initial St. Louis appearance of two of this country's most creative and musically solid rock groups. On Friday, April 10, Los Angeles's bizarre assemblage known collectively as Alice Cooper appeared at the Rainy Daze Club, a club whose management has shown considerable interest and energy in bringing groups of national merit to the St. Louis area. And then on April 25, Detroit's dynamic MC 5 appeared along with Chicago's Rotary Connection in a concert at the Washington University Field House.

There are certainly many bands that earn the label of freak, but Alice Cooper deserves to be classed among the most flamboyantly outrageous. The five man group consists of vocalist instigator and occasional harmonicist Alice Cooper, a cat gifted with a sinewy, feminine leonity and a maniacally obsessive stage presence; Michael Bruce, rhythm guitar and sometime organist; Glen Buxton, lead guitar; Dennis Dunaway, a truly orgasmic bassist; and Neal Smith, who holds forth on assorted percussive devices.

Alice originally emerged from run-of-the-rock obscurity by grossing out the freak populace of relatively ungrossable Los Angeles. They came to the forefront of the skin game after earning the admiration of Mother Frank Zappa, who was overwhelmed by their unique ability to nauseate their audiences to such an extent that, before the completion of a whole set, they would, more often than not, find themselves sounding off in a hastily deserted amphitheatre. Mother Frank, ever on the alert for the deviate and the undesirable, eagerly snatched Alice and signed them to a contract with his label, Straight Records. Since then it has been one levity ball, with Alice continually gorwing in notoriety, if not zaniness.

It is easy to see why. Just about anything can happen when these guys take the stage. They appear in costumes that can best be described as twenty-first century-acid-head-mod-transvestite. Silver sequined jump suits, false eyelashes, paint tight leotards, leather microskirts, Marquis de Sade riding boots, a little bit here, a little way there, a suggestion of Buck Rogers compromising with psychopathia sexualis – one glance and you know that Alice Cooper must be the dudes mama warned you about.

Is Amerika really ready for these shaggy, shimmery, totempoles? Financially their albums have not penetrated the upper register echelon. Artistically, the assault rock which they perpetrate so excellently is blended superbly with a set of multilayered surrealistic lyricism, whose purposely obscure meaning may not reveal itself in mere random listening. Because, despite all their physical ostentatious flamboyancy, the core of Alice Cooper is to be found under that fantastic deluge of instrumental sound, in the hauntingly perverse vocal and lyric delivered by Alice. It is evident that these people are interested in the theories of Artaud and the Living Theatre. They are totally captivating performers who attempt to engulf the audience in a sense-shattering experience. Ofttimes the crowd just can't take it and consequently cut out, thereby missing the point. But the crowd at the Rainy Daze dug them and they promised to return soon, possibly with a menagerie of such other novanotables as Captain Beefheart, Wild Man Fischer, and Zappa himself.

Until then, the albums will have to do. Try intently digging up on *Fields of Regret, Sboe Salesman, Swing Low Sweet Cheerio* or *Return of the Spiders*. You might find yourself addicted to the laceration hum that drones so melodically dissonant from the strange five-headed hydra known as Alice Cooper.

In the last year and a half, Detroit, Michigan, has emerged as the midwestern post-San Francisco phenomenon. It has produced such volume oriented psychedelia as the Amboy Dukes, the Stooges, Grand Funk Railroad, Frost and Catfish. But the band that was initially responsible for all this action was the Motor City 5, a hard, rough hewn rock and roll quintet whose raw and barbaric essence recently invaded our St. Louis placidity swamp.

The MC 5 have undergone a drastic switch since their emergence on the national scene. This reviewer first saw them playing in Lincoln Park in good old Czechago on a late August Sunday preceding the week of the Democratic debacle of 1968. They were surrounded by an unbelievable assortment of characters, everything from gum-rotting winos and government wire-tappers to religapocalyptic demagogues and reactionary dragqueens. And amidst this warmup for a week of insanity, the MC 5 – Wayne Kramer, zapping the crowd – Rob Tyner, gyrating and gesticulating – Dennis Thompson, sporadically heaving drumsticks into the air – Fred Smith, haggard and hound-doggish – and Mike Davis, stolidly providing an insistent, persistent pulse throb.

A monster rock and roll band, loud, explosive, intense. And at the same time, something else too. An echo of dissatisfaction, a decibilic force that represented a segment of youth disfranchised, disaffiliated, and disturbed by a society abundant with seemingly insoluble hypocrisy and inequity. A band under the managerial guidance of a true revolutionary by the name of John Sinclair, the same John Sinclair now serving a ten-year sentence in the Michigan State pen for possession of the lethal weed. Rob Tyner's vocal on *Motor City's Burning*, a musicarhetorical whiplash of emotional intensity. The scream of a culture on the brink of chaotic disruption, an unctuous appeal to kick-em-out – and let it come down as it may. A screeching, evangelist wildcat roar, the musical extension of Malcolm's chickens coming home and hawks swooping down on the somatized necromaneive Amerikan public.

Well, the MC 5 is indisputably one of the tightest rock bands that I have ever seen. They understand modulation, their program is balanced, and they're smooth as can be. I dig them and anytime they're around I'll gladly shell out some bread to see them. But there has been a change. A lot has come down in a short time – Dylan is backing off, Morrison is under siege, the Airplane is required to put up bond prior to performance. The MC 5 of 1970 is not the MC 5 of 1968. And that is a tragedy considering the temper of the times. The 5 are coming back to St. Louis in the near future and I suggest that anybody who digs rock should trek out to see them. In the last concert, Rob Tyner said that they were going to play some rock and roll. But sometimes you've got to wonder – is there a connection between the razing of Detroit and the leveling of a bank in Santa Barbara? And where are our bands with a vision – especially now when they're needed?

How nice it would be if the MC 5 got back to where they once belonged.

Discography: Alice Cooper, Pretties For You, *Straight 1051, Alice Cooper*, Easy Action, *Warner Brothers 1845. MC 5*, Kick Out The Jams, *Elektra 74072, MC 5*, Back In The USA, *Atlantic 8247.*

Next isb: The Blue Cheer, Jetbro Tull, Paul Butterfield, and who knows?

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Militarists Meet; Packard Plots Strategy

By Marty Liebowitz

The St. Louis branch of the military-industrial conspiracy met behind well-guarded doors at the Chase Park Plaza on April 13 to get the word from Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard. In a meeting co-sponsored by the St. Louis post of the Amerikan Ordnance Association and the St. Louis Chapter of the National Contract Management Association, Packard spoke to the St. Louis Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce. The chairman of the dinner meeting was none other than Donald Douglas, Jr., Vice-President of McDonnell-Douglas.

Before becoming Deputy Secretary of Defense, Packard was Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer of Hewlett-Packard Corp., a major defense contractor. He was also a Director of General Dynamics, the nation's third largest defense contractor with $1,243,000,000 worth of defense contracts in 1969, and U.S. Steel, one of the nation's most powerful corporations, bulwark of the Carnegie Empire, and a corporation that sells large amounts of steel to defense contractors. Packard was also a member of the International Advisory Committee to the Chase Manhattan Bank, part of the Rockefeller Empire and the financial arm of Standard Oil of New Jersey. Five Amerikan oil companies account for 60% of *all* U.S. profits from Third World nations. When you talk about imperialism, these five oil companies are responsible for 60% of it, and Chase Manhattan is an essential part of the imperialist policy. When an international boycott was called against South Africa because of the racist apartheid policies, Chase Manhattan was part of a banking consortium that loaned South Africa enough capital to withstand the boycott and maintain the apartheid system.

In the world of giant corporations, business is business and there is no place for morality. For example, in 1939 Standard Oil of New Jersey helped I.G. Farben, Germany's largest chemical company and the producer of poison gas used to murder ten million people in concentration camps, produce high octane aviation fuel. Documents captured after the war suggested that Nazi Germany could not have fought the war without the invaluable assistance of Standard Oil of New Jersey.

Packard is thus tied to two of the nation's most powerful industrial empires – the Carnegie Empire and the Rockefeller Empire. Some Congressmen felt that this might constitute a conflict of interest, since many of the corporations he was involved in did business with the Defense Department, but that problem was easily solved – David Packard put his $300 million worth of stock in "trust," which means he will own it again as soon as he retires from "public life." This is a clear example of how the people who run the major corporations also run the government. Most high officials in the State Department and the Department of Defense come from the world of giant corporations.

Packard didn't stop with running corporations and the government. He also ran Stanford University, where students are struggling to off ROTC. Stanford is one of the nation's largest defense contractors, specializing in counterinsurgency weapons used in Vietnam. He was also a Director and Member of the Executive Committee of the Stanford Research Institute, a non-profit research institute that develops counterinsurgency weapons and provides a large part of Stanford's funds.

That's David Packard. Who are the men he was speaking to? The Amerikan Ordnance Association is a powerful lobby group of corporations involved in military profit-making that keeps the Cold War and "defense" spending at a fever pitch. These are the men who make sure that $80 billion is spent each year on useless weapons of destruction while basic human needs like food, decent housing, adequate medical care and a liberating education go for "lack of funds." These were the men who make sure that skilled scientists and technicians are wasted making useless weapons while pressing human problems like pollution, low-cost housing and adequate public transit go unsolved for lack of creative ideas. These are the men who make sure that taxes keep going up – but not their taxes, or the taxes of their corporations – and that prices keep rising, because that is the inevitable result of the war they are profiting from. In short, these are the people who run St. Louis, and they are tied directly to the people who run the nation, people like David Packard. And the people who run the nation use their power to run the lives of most of the world's people. It is no coincidence that the people who run St. Louis – the people who run corporations like McDonnell-Douglas, Olin Mathieson, Monsanto, Emerson Electric, and St. Louis Union Trust Co. – also run Washington University.

One hundred people demonstrated at the meeting in order to expose the conspiracy that was going on inside and to strip these men of the cloak of anonymity. Even though two demonstrators were arrested by city police in a very tense situation, there was absolutely no mention of the demonstration in the St. Louis Post Dispatch. The Post, like the rest of the media, is tied directly to the corporate interests of the people who were in the Chase Park Plaza. They protect the anonymity of the well-dressed killers. It is an indication of how close we came to hitting the real power structure of the city that the Post refused to even mention the incident. These men cannot rule in the open, they cannot stand the glare of publicity.

Draft: Getting Out Not Enough

by Roz Leiser and Dru Lipsitz

Along with all the other signs of spring, each year brings a certain renewed concern about the draft among men graduating from college. For those not privileged with four years of 2-S deferments, the threat is less seasonal and less of a threat than an inevitable event. We have grown up with the draft and have come through adolescence with the war; only recently have large numbers of men said "we won't go." In the past several years draft counseling centers have mushroomed all over the country and many people realized that there were legal ways to avoid the draft. Nixon seized upon the reluctance of men to enter the military without question by running on a platform which included the promise to end the draft eventually and reform it in the meantime (he also promised to end the war, which deserves no further comment). The Amerikan people, as usual drawing most of their conclusions from fantasies, sat back and waited, then eagerly grasped the first crumbs Nixon threw out – the lottery.

When the lottery came into effect in January 1970, many people thought it would correct most of the obvious inequities of the Selective Service System. Newspapers had reported in late December that those with numbers in the first third (1-122) would be drafted, those in the second third (123-244) might, and those in the last third (245-366) would not, barring a drastic change in monthly draft calls. Several weeks into January, State Selective Service in New York, Michigan, and several other states announced that they would reach lottery number 300 by mid-summer. Shortly after these announcements, National Selective Service sent a memorandum to all Local Boards asking that no more than 30 numbers be called per month. At that rate it was obvious that nearly all men in this year's lottery without deferments would be drafted. It is interesting to note that when questioned about the original estimates that appeared in the news, both the Pentagon and National S.S. denied having ever released such figures. The lottery was clearly a disastrous fraud.

On April 23rd, Nixon abolished future occupational, agricultural and fatherhood deferments by executive order. At first glance this also seemed an attempt to make the draft a more equitable system. However, on further inspection, it appeared that this was simply an attempt to save Nixon's lose-your-life sweepstakes from total failure. Probably due to a drop in enlistment rates which were not taken into account when the lottery was created, the pool looked too small to cover the year's draft calls. The abolition of occupational deferments alone adds more than 500,000 men to the pool, although some of these men will fail their physicals or get other deferments. Nor does this recent change, as many think, place less burden on the poor. Those men with money to have a 2-S as a college student have not qualified for fatherhood deferments since 1967. The abolition of these deferments is likely to be felt more severely by the poor, whose possible alternatives are now even further limited.

At the same time that Nixon issued this executive order, he said he would ask Congress to eliminate 2-S (student) deferments. People again interpreted this as a move towards a more equal draft. However, an actuality, it is both a utilitarian and a political move. It will enlarge draft pools in future years, which are likely to be smaller than the present one. In announcing his request to Congress, Nixon stated that an exception would be made for college students who enroll in ROTC. It doesn't require an astute political analysis to see the implications of this suggestion. The Post-Dispatch had this to say:

> Mr. Nixon thus appeared to issue a direct challenge to student demonstrators who have sought to force the removal of ROTC and other military programs from many colleges. The implication was that he was encouraging students to join the ROTC as a way of continuing their military exemption until graduation. (April 23).

The procedural aspects of Nixon's recent order are not as yet clear. Although the alternatives are fewer in number than previously, there is still a good chance for a man to stay out of the military if he spends some time and effort trying. Draft counseling provides men with information based on experience and knowledge of the law, which can help them know which ways work in getting out of the draft and which don't (e.g. the myth that no one gets C.O. status is simply untrue, as is the myth that C.O.'s must be based on orthodox religious belief and supported by ministers). With some work and good counseling more than 50 per cent of men applying get C.O.'s. The army medical standards set forth causes for rejection which one might not expect (e.g. a documented asthma attack after the twelfth birthday). Rumor about the draft is usually false, and believing what you hear from friends or read in the papers can often get you screwed. We are draft counselling at Washington University in Rm. No. 1 Umrath (Student Union) (VO 3-0100 Ext. 4682) every day from 1-4:00 p.m. Counselling is free and open to everyone. Plans are also being made for a draft counselor training course.

Getting out of the draft, however, is not enough. So you get good counselling and maybe find a way out, maybe one that isn't contributing even indirectly to the military. You are still freeing someone else to go in. It is likely that the person who replaces you will be poor rather than middle or upper class and from a Third World rather than white background. The Selective Service System severely limits freedom of choice; the options of those who are not from upper or middle class backgrounds are the most severely limited. They can rarely afford the "option" of a 2-S for four years of college, or the money to see a psychiatrist, or adequate medical attention to be aware of physical problems which could get them out; they usually do not have the education to write a C.O. – more often they are not aware that there is such an alternative as C.O. for which they may qualify since if you are not in college you are less likely to have draft counselling centers readily available. This is no coincidence – the way Selective Service operates is inextricably interwoven with the inequities of our entire society. Furthermore, the increasing build-up of the military is being done at the expense of urgently needed social programs.

Firemen finally gained access to the Air Force ROTC building at Washington University last week after a massive arson job by young anti-ROTC forces.

Besides this, there is obviously the even larger context in which to consider the draft. The military as it exists in the U.S. today is certainly not merely an institution to ensure the national defense. Its existence is tied to the whole organization and raison d'etre of our government – and the role which it has assumed as policeman to the world. Compulsory military service makes military solutions to problems which are essentially economic, political or social, more and more a matter of administrative initiative rather than of national decision based upon popular understanding and support. This is so true today that Nixon was able to launch the offensive in Cambodia before notifying the Senate, or much less consulting the people. There is certainly no shortage of evidence of our reliance on the military – we need not look far beyond the obvious examples of our actions in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia to the number of bases we find it necessary to maintain throughout the world.

Therefore the draft is not merely a personal inconvenience, it is an inevitable and evil part of our society. If you understand the nature and functions of the draft and the entire way in which this country works and do not object to the implications, then it is your duty to enter the military. If you do object and want to get out, then you have a responsibility to those who can't. This responsibility cannot be ignored.

If you are not now working politically in any way towards changing the nature of our society so that the conditions which necessitate the war and the draft will no longer exist – there is no shortage of things you can do. Groups of people, in labor, in communities, on college and high school campuses are organizing toward total political and social change, rather than meaningless reforms of evil to dubiously lesser evil. If you can't think of anything else to do, learn draft counselling or work for the Outlaw.

Draft counselling shouldn't be viewed as a social service. We are draft counselors because we view the draft in its larger context. Your getting out and our helping to free you for two years and possibly your entire life, is meaningless in those contexts unless we are freeing you not only from participation in the military, but for fulfilling the responsibilities implicit in this freedom. You are freed only to exercise this responsibility. You are not free until everyone is free.

War at W.U.
ROTC a Four-Letter Word

By Devereaux Kennedy

Thousands of words have been written in the St. Louis dailies about this spring's anti-ROTC movement at Washington University. For three weeks in March and April both the Post and the Globe gave the WU battles front page coverage. Both papers ran several strong editorials opposing the anti-ROTC students and calling for strong action to punish them. The Globe with its usual flair for the outrageous called them "yo-yo's and adle brained girls with granny glasses," and the "liberal" Post-Dispatch warned that "America was losing its patience with disruptive student demonstrators."

Did it ever occur to either paper that the "violence" they condemned on the part of demonstrating students was the result of the fact that these students themselves were running out of patience with Amerika and its own system of intense world wide violence? Not once in all their articles and editorials about the events of the movement did the dailies attempt to relate the history of the ROTC struggle at WU and the reasons behind the sometimes violent and often disruptive anti-ROTC student actions.

The reason seems clear. Because both the Post and the Globe strongly disagreed with the politics and the methods of the demonstrators, they refused to give the history and rationale behind the anti-ROTC movement. Such coverage, while it would have been good journalism, while it would have informed the readers, might have given legitimacy to politics and methods of behavior strongly disapproved of by the editors of both papers. Rather than risk giving the anti-ROTC protests such legitimacy, the Post and Globe dealt with the demonstrators as mindless vandals bent upon purposeless destruction. Once having defined the demonstrators as mindless vandals, it became a simple matter for both the Post and the Globe to editorially denounce the demonstrators in the harshest of terms. Who after all, could do anything but oppose mindless and vicious destruction?

The facts of the matter are quite different than either of the papers' news and editorial coverage would indicate. The anti-ROTC demonstrators did have reasons behind what they did. The destruction of property

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which occurred was not mindless vandalism but rather militant political activity directed towards a clearly delineated goal – the elimination of ROTC from the campus. It was not action taken without thought or with the total disregard for the rights of students. Violence and disruption were adopted as tactics by the demonstrators only after they felt that all other channels had been closed to them. It was taken only because the demonstrators felt they had been placed in a position where only two options were open to them. Either accept their University's open and direct support of the military or fight it. They chose to fight at great risk to themselves. It is the purpose of this article to give the reasons behind that decision on the part of the demonstrators.

First of all, what is ROTC? The Army and Air Force Reserve Officer Training Corps is one of three programs the American military maintains to train its officers (the other two are the military academies – West Point, Annapolis – and Officer Candidate Schools). In the ROTC programs, trainees are trained while they attend college and are commissioned as Second Lieutenants when they graduate. While at school the Defense Department pays for the ROTC student's education and awards him fifty dollars a month in expenses. The ROTC student is also given a draft deferment which makes him immune from the draft as long as he is in school. Largely because of these special benefits, a large number of the military's officers are produced by ROTC. 85 percent of all junior officers and 45 percent of all officers are ROTC graduates.

Why are students opposed to it? Clearly some students and a large number of faculty members believe that the college campus is not the place for the training of military officers. They object to the questionable academic nature of many of the courses – leadership class consists of marching drills – the fact that the Defense Department and not the school hires the faculty members and the highly unusual nature of the obligations placed upon the program's participants – at the end of two years, a participant in the program is obliged to sign a contract with the Defense Department binding him to service in the military after graduation. It was this sentiment, plus student protests, which caused the faculty of Arts and Sciences to terminate credit for the program. (Credit is still given by the engineering school and business school.)

But while there are certainly strong academic and educational objections to the ROTC program, the emphasis of the spring's anti-ROTC movement was clearly political. The anti-ROTC students see the Amerikan military as protecting the interests and investments of the large U.S. corporations who they feel exploit people at home and abroad. An early leaflet, "Viet Cong Women Vote With Their Guns," points out that "Americans are six percent of the world's population, they use 55 percent of the world's resources. The 69 percent of the world's people in Asia, Africa and Latin America have about 10 percent of the world's wealth. The anti-ROTC students clearly don't think this disparity in wealth is an accident or the result of the hard work of Amerikans and the laziness of the Third World's peoples. They believe rather that it is the result of a policy of domination and exploitation on the part of Amerika carried on in the interests of its corporations and waged and protected by the Amerikan military. It is within this context of American corporate-military domination of the Third World that the anti-ROTC students place the current war in S.E. Asia.

The second paragraph of the widely circulated pamphlet, "Smash ROTC," reads as follows: "We think that the government's policy in Vietnam has always been harmoniously integrated with American business interests around the world and here at home. The war in Vietnam is not a 'mistake' or an 'aberration' but part of a larger policy designed to serve American corporate interests. The military in the United States serves as the principal agent for protecting those interests, suppressing popular rebellions and repressing dissent at home."

Many of the students not only oppose the Amerikan military actions in the Third World but also support the enemies of the Amerikan army, the Third World liberation armies, particularly the National Liberation Front in Vietnam. That is why they often marched under NLF flags shouting slogans like "Ho-Ho-Ho Chi Minh, the NFL is gonna win!" These students see themselves as allies of these liberation movements and enemies of the Amerikan Army. For them it is intolerable that Amerikan Army and Air Force officers be trained in their campus. They also strategically believe that a national campaign to

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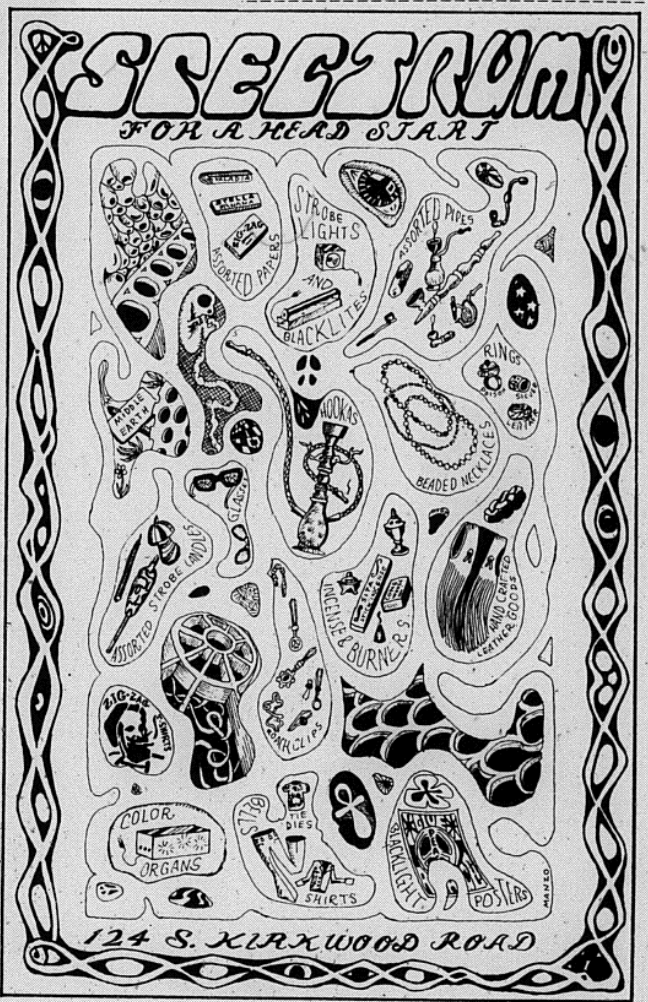

Outlaw Raps with High School Activists

By Fred Faust

Southwest High is a public school located at Kingsbighway and Arsenal in South St. Souis. Some students there tried to get things together recently in the form of an underground paper. After the first issue was circulated, several of those involved were tossed out. We talked at length with the students who published the paper. This is the first of a two-part series giving their impressions of Southwest. Names have been withheld for their protection.

Outlaw: Let's start with a little background on Southwest. What are the politically important events of the last semester or two? Like, did anything happen during the big moratorium day last October?

Southwest: Well, the administration announced the day before the moratorium that students would get double penalties for any "organized" cut on October 15. The policy was supposed to be that students could take off for moratorium activities if they had their parents' permission. But Southwest was going to take action. If they could catch anyone cutting they were going to give out double penalties.

Outlaw: How many did cut classes or at least wore armbands?

SW: Probably only 200 or 300.

Outlaw: Was there trouble with counter-demonstrators?

SW: A lot of kids were walking around with red, white and blue armbands to show support for the government. We did hear reports that some of our people with black armbands were jumped by counter-demonstrators, but it wasn't too widespread. The people who did that didn't understand what the moratorium was all about. They just didn't like the appearance of the kids wearing the black armbands.

Outlaw: What else happened last semester?

SW: There was trouble with the dress code. The student council had a committee draw up a list of 13 changes in the code. The revisions were placed before the student body for a school-wide referendum. They all passed, but the changes then had to be approved by the Parent-Teachers Association and the faculty. Only a few people showed up at the PTA meeting, so they didn't count that vote. The faculty then vetoed about half the changes.

Outlaw: So even though the students voted to make the 13 changes, they weren't all implemented?

SW: Right. It's better now, but we're still restricted. Sideburns used to have to stop at the base of the ear lobe, now they can be longer. Hair has to be out of the eyes and neat and well groomed. Of course this doesn't help much because the decision about whether someone's hair is well groomed is an arbitrary one to be made by administrators. Beards and mustaches still aren't allowed.

Outlaw: How did students react to the administration's refusal to implement their desires on the dress code?

SW: It didn't go over too well with students. Student council didn't want to formally adopt a policy that students had voted down. They thought the principal should take responsibility for it himself.

SW: Mr. Young, the principal, likes to label Southwest a "progressive" school, but most of the other high schools, like Cleveland and Roosevelt, have less restrictive policies on dress and personal appearance than we do.

But the dress code issue is probably minor, compared to other things. Students as a whole are dissatisfied with classes they're being given, being forced to take certain courses, this kind of thing. They know that the administrators have all the power, the students have none. The dress code thing just brought it home more.

Outlaw: What's the story with the school's newspaper? Did it help out on the dress code fight?

SW: The Pioneer – that's the name of the paper – didn't help. They ran a feature that misrepresented the sentiments of those fighting for a better dress code. The article said something like, "Should Southwest students be able to sport bell bottoms, beads, headbands and other apparel of the hippie set?"

Student Council says you're a disgrace to your school. No school spirit. They rule out everything individual. It's all for the school, if you wear long hair and clothes that aren't beautiful, then you're a disgrace to your school. That's what they emphasize. They had a picture in the Pioneer: two students in typical Southwest garb. The girl with a long, plain shift dress. The boy with his letterman's sweater.

Outlaw: Who runs the Pioneer?

SW: There's this lady, Mrs. Morrissey, who teaches journalism and sponsors the Pioneer. You have to take the journalism course and you have to have a certain grade point average to get on the paper. They sent a notice around to study halls last fall asking for volunteers. A couple of us were interested, but we gave it up for a lost cause – with their veto power and all. Mrs. Morrissey has to approve everything, and the paper is also read and censored by Mr. Close, the assistant principal. There isn't one article in there that isn't about the letterman dance and all that. That's all Southwest is, a social school. They always promote dances.

SW: We have a dream of getting a printing press and a putting out a paper called the Southwest Trailblazer and really showing up the Pioneer. We'd make it sort of like the Outlaw, only we'd work on school activities and describe them the way they are. Like those dances – they're all flops. They had one that drew about 15 people. Miss Southwest and all that crap.

Outlaw: What about discipline? Is it true there's been a lot of suspensions this year?

SW: Yeah, last semester there was something like a 100 kids suspended. That set a record.

Outlaw: Why so many?

SW: Well, the system isn't very well organized. It's so arbitrary. You can do so many things and not get caught; when they do catch you they just want to get you out of the way quick. It's supposed to operate on a suspension point system. You get five points if you cut a class, so many points if you're out of bounds. . . .

Outlaw: What's "out of bounds?"

SW: They have yellow lines painted all over the floors. If you're between the wrong sets of lines, except between class bells, then you're out of bounds and you get in trouble. They have a security guard. He walks around with a club. If he finds you between the lines, then he asks you what you're doing out of bounds. You're taken to the office and your i.d. card is taken away. They put in telephones for students to use, but most of them are out of bounds.

Outlaw: Does everyone have to carry an i.d.?

SW: Yes, and if you come to school late you have to show it to the guard.

Outlaw: Do you think there is a legitimate need for some type of security guard at Southwest?

SW: There probably is a need, but the guard is misused. A kid was beat up recently in front of school, and the guard didn't happen to see it. They have the guard walking the halls, and any trouble is likely to occur outside the building. The guard is busy checking i.d.'s of people who step out of bounds instead of preventing fights outside.

Outlaw: What other hassles have you had?

SW: Well, one time this year they started on this drug thing. Mr. Ecker, the administrative assistant, had this list of people who were supposedly on dope. It's none of their damn business anyhow, whether anybody's on drugs. But they had this list. They called parents and asked if we were on drugs, if they ever searched our rooms for drugs, if we showed symptoms of drug use, etc. They called us to the office and asked if we went to Forest Park on weekends. We asked why they wanted to know, and they said they knew there was a lot of drug traffic there.

Outlaw: What grounds did they have for asking you about drugs?

SW: Well, if you cut one class, they call you in and act like it's their duty to be your grandfather. And they think that if your attendance is irregular or your grades fall down, it must be drugs. Apparently they never think about the fact that you might be bored.

SW: The curriculum is so boring. Last year in English class we got all the required stuff done and we had time left at the end of the year. So we wanted to do something neat. Together the teacher and the class decided it'd be fun to read Catcher in the Rye. One parent called and complained, and the head of the English department said we couldn't do it, Miss Lewis, the head of the department, also vetoed our other choices, so we wound up reading some poems nobody cared about. The teacher's job was threatened in the incident. He's back now, and he plays it more straight.

SW: There's all kinds of stories we can tell you about senile teachers. Apparently younger teachers who work in the St. Louis system have a great desire to get to Southwest. So they come here when they get enough seniority and they become permanently entrenched.

"Bored. Bored to death."

Outlaw: How do most Southwest students feel about the curriculum?

SW: Bored. Bored to death.

Outlaw: What kind of atmosphere is fostered by the administration? Lot of attention on sports, or what?

SW: Yeah, sports is a big deal. There's only one activity at all intellectual or controversial. It's a discussion group – Contemporary Problems. Funny thing, the principal always omits their announcements. Every morning on the p.a. system he announces activities like the Spanish Club, Cheerleaders, etc. But he never mentions the discussion group.

SW: It's also interesting to note how the club got started. A bunch of us interested in starting a student union called a meeting. Some teacher showed up and said we would discuss contemporary problems. So it turned into a weekly discussion group.

SW: Last year we wanted to have a speaker from SDS come for one of our discussions, but the administration said No. At the same time they plug the right-wing Up With People show. Up With People comes every year, on school time, for an auditorium session. The principal announces that session in the morning, and announces double penalties for cutting that one.

SW: The administration is big on worthless student "power." They had a vote on fixing up the cafeteria. Everybody voted to get plastic chairs, but they never got them. But after several years of student requests, they finally put in a soda machine. Big fanfare for a soda machine and snack bar. The soda is watered down, and they make a profit on it. Mr. Gladstone, one of the assistant principals, went to student council and cited the soda machine as an example of how our administration tried to keep a step ahead of the students, so Southwest wouldn't have any "trouble" like they did at Beaumont.

Outlaw: How does the administration relate among different student factions?

SW: Well, they encourage the straights, of course. And we think they try to play off the "hippies" against the "greasers." The administrators use those terms a lot in private talk. It's hard to pinpoint, but we have the feeling that they want to encourage hostility between those two groups.

SW: We have to break down barriers. We think we can reach the "greaser" types. They're probably more ready for action than other groups.

Outlaw: Is there racial tension at Southwest?

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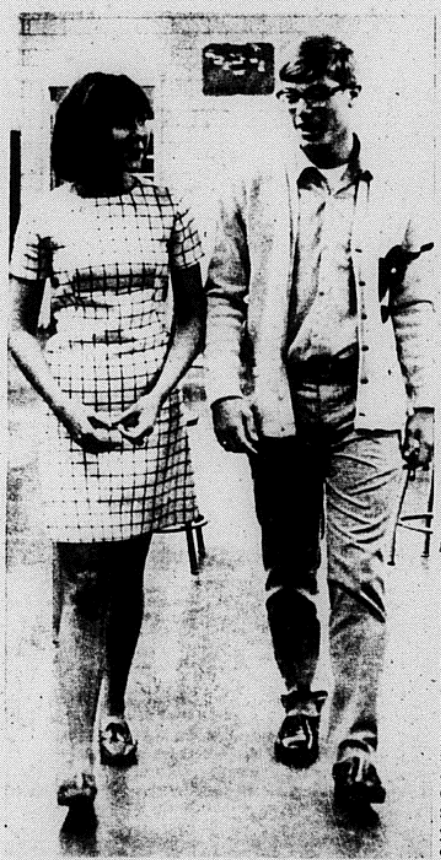

Typical SW Garb: Sue Sanders and Bert Nollman

CONFORMITY REIGNS: This photo appeared in the October 17 issue of the Southwest Pioneer. On the same page was a feature about a new administrator: " 'Hang the guilty; exonerate the innocent,' said Mr. Al Ecker, SW's administrative assistant in charge of discipline, expressing his philosophy toward his new job . . . Mr. Ecker feels that rules exist for the benefit of the entire school and those who ignore these rules must be held responsible."

WRITE ON!

People's Music

Fellow outlaws:

I wish to congratulate you on your paper. It is really the best free press that St. Louis has ever had yet. However I would like to make one correction concerning the article on the Rush in your first issue. There you mention that the Rush was the only band that had enough balls to play in Graham Chapel last month for the People's Defense Fund. Here you fail to mention the members of the BAG that were the first to play on the first night of the benefit, who were followed by a group known as the "Graham" of which I am a member, which also played on the first night of the benefit. We were followed by Rush, who came on the second night of the festival.

The Graham is comprised of five members: Norman and Gary Froeschner, Rich Amsinger, Jim Brennan, and myself, Don Frischmann. We may not have the greatest equipment in the area, but we feel that we really have something new and different in the way of jazz and blues. Let me assure you; if it were not for our slight deficiencies in the way of equipment, the name of Graham would have sooner become a familiar name to the freaks of St. Louis. However, we are interested in playing for the people, and perhaps with a little bit of your support, we can fulfill our wishes to supply the city of St. Louis with even more of the good music which is too scarce in a city such as this.

During the coming summer, we would like to give a concert, perhaps in Laclede Town for a minimal admission fee, of which part would go towards our band fund, and part to KDNA Radio. We feel that a concert of this type would serve a multi-fold purpose.

However, in the meantime, we ask your support and offer our services where they may be needed. Power to the people. Thank you very much for your help.

Don Frischmann

Intellegent? ? ?

Dear Sir:

I did not like your 'newspaper'. The reasons are long and boring but I shall go over the basic reasons.

Firstly, your journal is not a newspaper. It is a one-sided collection of opinion with some vague relation to reality. It certainly has very little to do with news.

Your magazine writers might be benifited (sic) if they looked at the way that articles are written in the mass media, concisness (sic) and a lead paragraph are useful in making a worthwhile reading experience.

Past the pretentious jargon what bothers me about your paper is that you've lost touch with the world. No matter how hard you try, the people are not with the revolution. Somewhere you seem to have missed that.

There are a sizable number of people in St. Louis, intellegent (sic), radical, people who do not see eye to eye with the radicals on ROTC. There is a sizable community of people in St. Louis who are not impressed by the idea of armed revolution.

I suppose that for the audience that you are aiming at you (sic) newspaper has mass appeal, but don't get carried away, you are not the whole St. Louis 'scene'.

Sincelerly, (sic)
Eddie Hadas

P.S. Leave the Band alone. Just listen to the music. J.R. Robertson wouldn't lie.

One-Year Subscription
$5.00
Mail to: OUTLAW, 4285 Olive, St. Louis, Mo. 63108

The OUTLAW is an independent, radical newspaper published semi-monthly, affiliated with KDNA Radio, 102.5 FM. Editorial and business offices: KDNA Radio, 4285 Olive, St. Louis, Missouri, 63108. Telephone 652-6161 or 862-3857.

Articles and letters are eagerly accepted. All material must carry the signature and phone number of the author, but names will be withheld on request.

Cost per issue: 25¢. Subscriptions are $5 per year. Distributors are needed, call for details. Reasonable advertising rates, call for details.

WANTED:

For conspiracy to edit and produce a radical newspaper in St. Louis: Fred Faust, Richard Hazelton, Devereaux Kennedy, George Lipsitz, and Laurie Sitkin

For conspiracy to write articles for said radical newspaper: Carl Boggs, Jesse Byron, Clay Claiborne, Jon Cohen, Dave Frerker, Jim Hunt, Roz Leizer, Marty Liebowitz, Dru Lipsitz, Marvijuann, Jerry Martien, Lilyann Mitchell, Gail Pellet, and Tom Scribner

For conspiracy to illustrate said radical newspaper: Susie Petersen, Eric Schlessinger, and Gung, Shu

For conspiracy to solicit advertising for and distribute copies of said radical newspaper: Rush McAllister

Dubourg Lies

Editors,

Enclosed is a protest a member of the Dubourg senior class wrote to distribute at school concerning our graduation farce. Our strongest disgust stemmed from the fact that the students' choices for speakers were not honored at all. This, coupled with the obvious attempt of the administration to suppress student opinion, prompted its writing. Due to the fear of punishment for the student mentioned we decided against distributing it. We send it to you in hopes that it will be printed and some of the students see it and realize what has been happening.

We ask that our names not be printed as "action" could be taken against us too.

Peace,
Names Withheld
on Request

Editor's note: The Outlaw is happy to oblige. The leaflet appears on this page.

Dubourg Seniors Class of '70

This is to inform you (not already aware) of what the administration is attempting to do with *OUR* graduation. Remember the way the Student Council came and asked each homeroom who they wanted as speakers? Remember who was decided upon?

Dennis Wilson was to give a student response. Well – here's the latest – the Administration is cutting out the Student Response entirely on the grounds that they do not have the time for it. The *real* reason (as has been pointed out by some of the more "enlightened" faculty members) is that the Administration is *AFRAID OF WHAT HE MIGHT SAY!!!*

Mr. Kelly was also to speak. However, we wouldn't be looking TOO hard for our former co-ordinator either. Yes, we all saw his letter posted by the elevator – right next to Auxiliary Bishop McNicholas' letter of acceptance of 'Mr. Kelly's speech.' Who's dumbshit idea was that? Certainly not that of a large or representative portion of the senior class. He has absolutely no relevance to us as a class – or to any large number of us as individuals.

The whole point of this is not that Dennis Wilson won't be giving his speech, or even that Bishop McNicholas is going to be "preaching" to us all. The point is – the administration is trying to pull another quickie on us. They came to us pretending that it really would make a difference who we choose. Yet, why did they bother to even ask us who we wanted for OUR graduation if they were only going to allow who *they* wanted? Certainly it is an appropriate last "democratic" action for Dubourg to take. It is so representative of what their tactics have been throughout our four years here.

Perhaps, IF the administration wishes to show that it was not their intention to make the graduation as miserable an event as some of the worst classes and assemblies, they could find a way. Perhaps, IF the administration wanted, they could re-insert Dennis Wilson's speech and, if it's time they're really worried about, they could cut Bishop McNicholas' ditty.

HOW ABOUT IT ADMINISTRATION??? ARE YOU GOING TO RETURN THE GRADUATION TO *US* OR ARE YOU GOING TO DO THINGS THE WAY YOU HAVE BEEN DOING EVERYTHING ELSE FOR FOUR LONG ARDUOUS YEARS. THIS IS THE CHALLENGE WE, THE CLASS OF '70 GIVE TO YOU – THE ADMINISTRATION OF *1956*.

Zoo Story; Sunday Will Never Be The Same

By John Wesley Harding

May 3, Forest Park: Listen here brother, remind me from now on that when I rap on about the repression going to come down on all of youth, to change that to past tense.

My eyes have seen – so I know. Here it was. Bill Marshalls' Penrose playing for the people for free at the Pavillion when along come the oinkers telling them to unplug or go to jail. They asked to play one more song; it was granted, but the song was never finished because the lieutenant shoved his way to the microphone with his big body guard behind him.

The kids were told that the complaints came from the zoo; so we replied, complain to the zoo and its visitors about the existence of such restrictions. Zoo officials have been asked for help in obtaining a new spot for the crowd who loves music, but they've refused every time.

At first only a few dozen went to the zoo and the

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SW: Not much. There's only about 100 blacks out of a school population of 2500. And they are showcase type blacks – real bright and everything. There isn't much hostility, but there is a lot of phony liberalism. All these kids try to be real polite to the black students cause they think they must come from a broken home or something just because they're black.

Outlaw: Getting back to the school atmosphere, what kinds of auditorium sessions, if any, do they have during the year?

SW: Well, there's several sports auds each semester. The most liberal aud we've had was for Earth Day.

Outlaw: If that was liberal, then what other types do you have?

SW: There was some kind of military thing last fall, with a band from Scott Air Force Base. Must have been Veteran's Day. They also have an aud on drugs every year. And there's Hello Day, everybody says "hello" to the freshmen. And they bring in Up With People every year. Then there's that Christmas aud – everybody's supposed to dress up for that.

Outlaw: Do they use a religious them at the Christmas session?

SW: Yeah. Some of the Jewish kids started talking about it, but they told 'em if they didn't like it they could go to the cafeteria. In one of the classes the teacher announced they were going to sing Christmas songs. A Jewish girl said something about it, and the teacher made some smart reply to the effect that if it upset her, she could leave the room. It didn't upset her that much, but you know, anything to get out of class, so she left.

Next issue: The underground paper and its aftermath.

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

We know you're sick of those censored puff sheets that they call 'school papers.' We think you'll dig the new kind of journalism that the Outlaw offers. But we need your help. If the young people of the St. Louis area are going to get together, then we must have our *own* means of communication. We're starting it, now let's use it. Start writing. It's that simple. We want you to send us articles, essays, announcements, letters, drawings, etc. Let your brothers and sisters know what's happening. Send your work (typed!) to St. Louis Outlaw, c/o KDNA Radio, 4285 Olive St., St. Louis, Mo. 63108

Convicted St. Louis Nun Condemns Corporations, Corrupt Legal System

By Joann Malone

(Editor's note: Joann Malone was recently convicted of vandalizing the Washington, D.C., offices of the Dow Chemical Company during a demonstration against Dow's production of napalm for the war in Vietnam.)

Stepping out of the reality of old men dying in bowery doorways and napalmed faces screaming for death, we pause in the unreal waiting room where the only fear is the disturbance of formality. The marbled walls and centuries of yellowed laws have eaten into men's souls here, hardened them against compassion for those they kill, against the truth of their hypocrisy.

We compromise our own humanity by trying to stand and speak in a structure that allows only silent submission to lies. But we speak to the *men* here – calling them by name, shouting through the facade of "order" that causes daily imprisonment of the poor and condones daily slaughter by the real burglers and destroyers of property and life.

The law and order of the judge and marshals is the same as that of Dow's executives and lackeys – wealth for the few, poverty for the world; tranquility that ignores starvation; violence delivered in Saran Wrap. Smiling, hoping and offering flowers instead of blows is difficult in the face of blindly irrational power. Reducing fear that jumps at a "defendant's" voice or long hair seems impossible.

But if there is little or no victory over the illegitimate power of court and corporation, the people hear the word that court, corporation, army, and government must come down. The people must dispel all false hope in illegal and immoral processes. We must stop courts from functioning as we stop draft boards and corporations. As long as we tolerate imprisonment without bond for the New York Panthers, we accept our own imprisonment and death. We must live life now as if it's going out of style – because it is.

Post-Dispatch Makes Crime Pay

By George Lipsitz

To most of us, monopoly is the name of a game we played as children. To the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, however, it is the name of a business practice which has enabled those two stern guardians of the public interest to rake in millions of dollars at the public's expense. While their editorial pages proclaim the virtues of free enterprise, the Post and the Globe are partners in a joint operating agreement – enabling them to avoid competition, pool their profits, and maintain a monopoly over the news and opinion which gets to people in St. Louis.

In any industry it is profitable to grow bigger, to buy up your competitors and establish stable control over your market so that new competitors do not arise. The operating agreement between the Post and Globe is the result of those principles in action.

In 1951 there were three major papers in St. Louis: the morning Globe-Democrat, the evening Post-Dispatch, and the evening Star-Times. Pulitzer Publishing Company, owner of the Post, bought the Star-Times, which gave it an advertising advantage over the Globe. After several years of competition, Pulitzer acquired the printing plant of the Globe and agreed to print both the Post and the Globe at that plant.

That arrangement proved unprofitable to Pulitzer, so on March 1, 1961, Pulitzer forced the Globe into an agreement whereby the profits from the Post and the Globe would be divided at the end of each year according to a pre-arranged ratio.

The effect of that agreement was to end newspaper competition in St. Louis. If the Globe had not entered into it, the Globe would probably have been sold to people who would have made it competitive with the Post. Or the Globe would have gone bankrupt and been replaced by a new paper which would be competitive. By means of the operating agreement, the Post assured itself of a mediocre token entry into the newspaper field, any success of which would only serve to make the Post richer.

If that agreement sounds a little fishy to you, you are not alone. The United States Supreme Court on March 10, 1969, ruled that such joint operating agreements were illegal with Justice Douglas specifically saying, "Pooling of profits runs afoul of the law." The court ruled that such arrangements would lead to unfair concentrations of power whereby one publisher could determine what information an entire city would be able to receive.

If you are a student demonstrating against ROTC, or a Teamster out on strike, or a black man demonstrating for your rights, the law will crack down on you and have you in jail in no time at all. But if you are a millionaire publisher and you violate anti-trust laws, the Justice Department will ignore you, and the Congress of the United States will rush to your aid as if you were a valuable national resource. In the case of newspapers like the Post and the Globe, the remedy comes in the form of a bill called the Newspaper Preservation Act.

The purpose of that act is to make legal the kind of monopoly the Post and Globe have here in St. Louis, and to enable them to make their stranglehold on the city much worse. In San Francisco, where the Chronicle owns the Examiner, it is impossible to buy an ad in one paper. They make you buy ads in both. In Milwaukee, there is one editorial office for two papers, and everyone in town is subject to the whim of one publisher. There is no indication that the Globe and the Post plan to follow the lead of San Francisco and Milwaukee – certainly they are already powerful enough. But they have lent their support to the Newspaper Preservation Act to make those things legal, and that support bears close scrutiny by all citizens in St. Louis.

In a letter to Senator Phillip Hart, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, Joseph Pulitzer, Jr., the publisher of the Post-Dispatch, announced his support for the Newspaper Preservation Act on the grounds that only by government supported monopolies could newspapers survive and maintain diversity of editorial opinion. Pulitzer's argument was that St. Louis could not support two newspapers if they had to compete, and that the publishers could not afford competition. The facts indicate otherwise.

"Indeed, it would be difficult to find a city in which two newspapers are more competitive or independent in their views than are the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and the St. Louis Globe-Democrat."

– Joseph Pulitzer, Jr.

	Post	Globe
1965 Democratic Primary	Endorsed Tucker and Poelker	Endorsed Tucker and Poelker
1967 Arch Bonds	Vote Yes	Vote Yes
1969 Bus Strike	Endorsed Bi-State's Offer	Endorsed Bi-State's Offer
1969 School Tax Increase	Vote Yes	Vote Yes
1970 Sales Tax and Bonds	Vote Yes	Vote Yes
1970 Teamsters Strike	Condemned Local 600 endorsed $1.10 offer	Condemned Local 600 endorsed $1.10 offer
1970 Anti-ROTC Demonstrations	Supported ROTC	Supported ROTC

Pulitzer Publishing Company spent $18 million two years ago to acquire two television stations, KVOA-TV in Tucson and KOAT-TV in Albuquerque. Combined with Pulitzer's ownership of KSD-TV and KSD radio, this gives the Post a phenomenal source of profit. TV stations sometimes turn over as much as 100 per cent profit and an enterprise which owns three of them is hardly one which is unable to compete in the newspaper field.

But what about the Globe? Well, the Globe is owned by the poor little Newhouse chain, which had the resources to scrape together $53.4 million dollars to buy the Cleveland Plain Dealer in 1967. Yet when these two empires go to Congress, they plead poverty and an inability to compete for the newspaper market in St. Louis.

The most hypocritical and most important argument given by Pulitzer and Newhouse for being allowed to maintain their monopoly is the argument that they provide diversity of editorial opinion and if either went bankrupt only one point of view would be left. It is quite obvious that the mere presence of two papers in town does not guarantee diversity. When those papers are pooling their profits it in fact almost guarantees that only the most superficial kind of differences will be aired.

It is true that when it comes to foreign affairs the Globe tells the right wingers what they want to hear, and the Post caters to the liberals. But in both cases, the concept of what constitutes news, the rewritings of the wire service reports, the reliance on "official" government sources, and the definition of news as those events which upset the status quo tend to limit rather than broaden the amount of information available to people in St. Louis. On local affairs, the myth of diversity disappears altogether. Whenever there is a strike, whenever there is a bond issue, whenever there is a high school or college disturbance, the Post and Globe join ranks to state that sane, rational, and moral reflection has caused them to decide that the interests of the powerless should be subordinated to the whims of the powerful.

The monopolization of opinion by the Post and the Globe extends beyond the editorial field. They have effectively blacked out information on their joint operating arrangement in ther news reporting and one wonders how many other local dealings are similarly kept out of the newspapers. When the Supreme Court ruled joint operating arrangements illegal, the Globe didn't even carry the story. The Post carried only the Associated Press story which left out any mention of the relevance of the decision to St. Louis. The Post also carried an analysis of the news item which discussed the case from the publishers point of view but which also left out any mention of St. Louis. Both papers carried stories in 1959 when the Post started to print the Globe, but no mention was made of the current operating agreement when it was signed in March of 1961.

Prospects for any relief from the Post-Globe monopoly seem slight. They now control two newspapers, two television stations, and a radio station in town. The only governmental action which has been taken was when the FCC granted two more TV licenses to the Post-Dispatch and when the Senate started to consider the Newspaper Preservation Act. Wisconsin's State Superior Court Justice Robert Hansen has said:

> "A person or corporation who owns a great or two great newspapers in a major city has a lot of power and a person who owns and operates the largest television station in a great metropolitan community has a lot of power. A person or corporation who operates the largest FM or AM radio station has a lot of power and I submit to you that the person or corporation who owns all three has too much power. The idea of conglomerates is dangerously applied to the opinion influencing area of American lives."

The very people who should alert us to this kind of danger, the news media, are the ones responsible for this situation. It seems unlikely that the Globe-Democrat's zeal in having law breakers punished will extend to its own illegality, or that the Post-Dispatch will apply the same judgment to its violations of the law for profit that it applies to young people who break the law trying to end poverty, racism, and militarism. The government is benefited by such controls of information and the Justice Department is not likely to prosecute millionaire publishers when they break the law, when it is more interested in applying preventive detention to poor people who *might* break the law. Similarly the FCC appears unconcerned with the violations of the public's interest by wealthy newspaper publishers. It continues to grant them franchises to a point where newspapers now receive 34 per cent of all television income.

However, while the Post and the Globe will probably be able to continue their practices for awhile, they are reaping a whirlwind. As Henry Maier, the mayor of Milwaukee told Senator Hart's subcommittee, "... if a monopoly press is allowed to set community priorities unchallenged, and if, gentlemen, the basic issues of our urban society are swept under the rug while only internal central city conflict issues are projected, then, gentlemen I hope that the Congress of the U.S. will be able to face up to the revolution ahead."

That is the crux of the matter. When large corporations like Pulitzer and Newhouse systematically deprive people of the information which they need to peacefully change their lives, those people will inevitably turn to violence to smash the forces which have been oppressing them. Ultimately the Post and the Globe are involved in more than a monopoly. They manipulate a public resource for their own ends, and the consequences of that can be adjudicated only by the

It PAYS to be the
POST-DISPATCH
...every day!

Free Bobby Seale

Panthers and Students Ally at Yale

By Doug Miranda

This is the text of last month's speech by Black Panther Doug Miranda to an enthusiastic audience at Yale University. The speech helped inspire a successful student strike and a weekend of massive nonviolent demonstrations on May 1, 2, and 3 in support of Bobby Seale and the other framed Panthers.

NEW HAVEN (LNS) — I remember when I was a young snotty-assed nigger in the south end of Boston, I used to read about Yale University. I never thought I'd be in Battell Chapel, addressing some Yale students and trying to make them understand some of the problems and situations that have been perplexing black people for a very long time. I think we have to begin to talk about the human side of that struggle, which is the political struggle — the political struggle is the struggle of a human being to achieve the type of conditions we feel are necessary for our survival here in Amerika.

The pigs in Amerika have seen fit to kill black people, corrupt the environment, mess up the air, mess up our minds — and this is not just the black people, this is all of us. We can see our way out of this mess that we're involved in, this total chaos and confusion that Amerika represents these days, if we begin to emphasize the political side of our struggle.

Now I'm not going to stand up here and begin to tell white students to pick up guns and kill pigs because I understand that that would be idealism at this time, we'd just be engaging in rhetoric, and I wouldn't expect any of you all to do that. But I can expect you to do certain things that fit into your political framework, the way that you view this (New Haven) trial, and the way that you view the struggle that's going on in Amerika. So I'm not going to jump way upstairs and come down and attempt to intimidate everybody, with the call to violence, but I am going to begin to talk about what the party feels could be some very practical political directions and very practical political movement on the part of Yale students to deal with this problem of freeing the New Haven Nine.

As black people our situation in Amerika dictates that we're going to have to move very differently than you because we're dealing with something called racism, you see. It's come down to the situation in Amerika where black people have begun to pick up guns just to exercise our right of free assembly. It's come down to the situation where we have to use weapons in self defense in our homes. I wish that I could take some of you into the community and bring you to some of our offices and some of the places where we live so you could see the sandbags, so you could see some of the two-by-fours across the doors, so you could see some of the self-defense we have to prepare. Solely because we want to go out into our communities and talk to the people in our communities about some of the problems. We have to do this just so I can leave my home and go to my neighbor's home and talk to my neighbor about why we have more rats and roaches in my home than we have people. So I can talk to my neighbor about why we pay $150 a month for a two room flat that doesn't even have hot water, a two room flat that has the lead paint peeling off the ceiling that the children are eating.

We have to be able to arm ourselves in self-defense just to sell our newspapers in the community, and to conduct the many programs serving the people we have, such as the breakfast program, like the medical clinics we have established, free medical clinics across the country, and like our liberation schools and our political education classes.

But the pigs again aren't blowing these types of things in their media, because we know they don't blow positive things about the Black Panther Party, that they don't blow the truth about what we're doing in the community. What they do is they create opinion in Amerika — I think all of us understand that — and the opinions that they create, or concepts they create in people's minds, is a concept like this: that when the word Panther is mentioned, the type of reaction that's evoked in the minds of white people is the concept of some crazy nigger with a red tongue running into your home with an M-16, shooting you up, raping your wife or something and just totally messing up the peacefulness and bliss of your situation, (applause)

So I don't dare come up here and say pick up a gun because I don't want to lend any validity to that bullshit that the pigs are pumping out to the Amerikan people. (applause)

But if I did talk about violence I would differentiate between repressive violence and revolutionary violence, and if I was going to talk about the phenomenon of violence as we see it today, I would have to talk about the major, number-one chieftain reactionary government that's pushing all this violence — as a commodity more or less, as part of its profit motive — and I think we would all have to recognize that as being the Amerikan government.

I don't think that you all could sit there and say that niggers was the most violent element in this society, or that niggers is just violence-prone or whatever you want to say. I think we could recognize the fact that Amerika is the most violent nation in the world, and that violence is manifested in its war machine, that's called the military-industrial complex. I just call it pigs gone mad. (applause)

That violence, see, that violence has been caused by racism. What the pigs have done is taken all the violence and anger and frustration on the part of the working class in Amerika and projected it on the Third World, so that we have a manifestation of that violence happening in North Vietnam, in South Vietnam, in Cambodia, in Laos, in the Middle East, in Latin America, in Africa, and we have manifestations of their violence occurring here inside of Amerika, and that manifestation occurring in the brown-black communities, and red and yellow communities in Amerika. So their violence doesn't emanate from the community, it is projected into the community.

So see that niggers are violent because we were forced into that situation. That we were forced into a situation where we had to be violent in order to survive in some instances.

Niggers are confined to reservations in Amerika. In Chicago there are a million black people, one million black people, living on 88 square miles of land — I say that that's genocide. One million black people on 88 square miles of land. In New York about two to three million black people live on maybe 200 hundred square miles of land. L.A. — same situation in Watts, and you can drive on the defense highways the pigs have built all across the country with their little check points and you can drive across these highways and you can see these vast, these tremendous rolling fields, and why can't niggers have a piece of that you know, cause we ain't really done nothing wrong to Amerikan people, we've worked very hard, we participated whether they said we participated or not, because they been blowing a lot of lies in the history books. We had a great deal to do with building this society, we feel that we should profit from it in some way.

So we have the violence and we have the inferiority complexes that have been created in the minds of black people, that we'd rather kill each other than deal with the social conditions that we face in the community. It comes down simply to this: should a black man blame himself or should he blame the environment? Let's deal with the environment and if the environment is straightened out and becomes habitable for human life then we can begin to blame the individual if he commits acts of violence. But in the situation that black people are in, it's the pigs that create this opinion in people's minds that we are violent, that we are moving in a crazy extremist manner, when in reality if you examine our program it speaks to human rights. Basic human rights that people are born with and people do not have to demand and beg and pray and sing for. We're talking about land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, and peace. Things that black people have been denied for a very long time.

So we have a contradiction here. We have the constitution saying that everyone is created equal, that everyone has access to these rights, and that the government is a government of the people, when in fact niggers have never had none of these rights since our arrival in Amerika, and this is what I'm trying to explain to you. This is the message I'm trying to get to you, trying to move on that misinformation that the pigs put out about the problems in the black community.

Not too many white people know about what happens in the black community unless niggers tell them, and I'm trying to explain to you what's really happening. I'm trying to explain to you about Fred Hampton's wife, Deborah, how it feels to have your husband's head blown off as you lay next to him and you're eight months pregnant. We try to explain to people what's happening in the community, but they refuse to understand. They refuse to believe what we're saying. I think that to a woman, especially a black woman in this society, that must be very frustrating, and would lead you to other means, to other measures to solve your problems. So it is the pigs again you see that call our attempts at survival extremism.

They call feeding children at a breakfast program, you know, communist inspired, inspired in Peking and Havana. Inspired in Moscow. The niggers are still not in control of their minds, still not in control of their thought process; we're still being controlled and duped, maybe by the Progressive Labor party, maybe by the American Communist party, or by Peking, Moscow, or what have you.

We used to sit down in the community and everybody used to talk about how hungry niggers were, but we finally struck on something. We said ain't nobody going to feed us unless we feed ourselves. Ain't nobody gonna take care of us unless we move to take care of ourselves. Ain't nobody gonna solve the problems of medicine in the community unless we move to take care of these things ourselves. Ain't nobody gonna tell us the truth unless we begin to tell ourselves the truth about our situation. So we're striving to do that, we're striving to do that daily. The process that black people are going through is a process of constant education, constant re-evaluation of the problems that we have in Amerika, and always moving politically to meet the situations that we're confronted with.

Now I'm not gonna be jiving people here when I say that we can't meet pigs with flowers and bibles because we tried that already. I think if you examine our historical experience, you will see that black people have been very very nonviolent and very pacifistic in their approaches to the problems that we've had in Amerika. We've always sat down and pleaded morally to the slavemaster, we've always sat down and pleaded morally to those who had things we needed and depended upon for our very survival, for our very livelihood. We have done this. You can't point to me and say well why aren't you doing this now. I say that if you examine our historical experience you'll see that we have done this for four hundred years.

If you want to get off into romanticism, we've had some really heavy people who could speak to the moral consciousness of the oppressor: you have Booker T. Washington, you have Martin Luther King, you have Roy Wilkins, you have Ralph Abernathy. But we don't see that as being progress, because the situation isn't getting any better, it's getting worse. So what we're saying is look what they did to non-violence. Look what they did to Martin Luther King. Look at the trend this country is moving in.

And this country will continue to move in that direction unless people with a progressive nature begin to take some kind of principled stand to stop that trend. Revolutionaries can't do it by themselves — we need the people — so we're actively moving to educate the people to the way we feel about the problems. And how we should begin to deal with them. There's no goddamn reason why the Black Panther Party can't work with the students at Yale, there's no goddamn reason why the Panthers and the Bulldogs (Yale's mascot) can't get together, you see. (applause)

We do recognize certain elements in our environment that we both can agree that we dislike, that we want to change. I want to change it in my way, you want to change it in your way. You can't recognize my way of changing it, but I can in fact recognize your way of changing it. Because black people have already engaged in a very long and drawn out political struggle to change the conditions that we were faced with. So we can recognize that process, we can recognize you all out there saying that violence is incorrect, so we're not going to talk about violence. We're going to say how can we move against Kingman Brewster (president of Yale) in a political fashion that educates and points out the true nature of Yale university, the nature of the courts, the true nature of the pig department. How can we move politically, what do we have at our disposal, what type of tactics can we utilize to bring about the desired changes that we want.

So I say this, that we're going to participate with Yale students on whatever level they see fit to participate. We feel that one level you can participate on is a call for a general strike, and I'm gonna try to get into that a little. (applause) How do people feel about a general strike? (applause) I don't think it's an extremist demand, I don't think it's an ultra-leftist demand, I think it's a very concrete and practical way of forcing Yale University out of its quasi-neutral position when in fact we know that they have their hands in the Yale corporation, have their hands into certain things that they don't tell people about. We know that they have a vested interest in which way this trial goes because the Black Panther Party knows that Yale controls the black community, that they control New Haven. The Panthers were moving to change those conditions in New Haven. So directly or indirectly we were moving against Yale University.

We know that Yale has a great say, that Yale has a tremendous amount of power and a tremendous amount of influence that they can exert on the court systems, on the police departments that are running crazy in the black community. Since the majority of people at Yale are students, then they should be able to influence policies and opinions much more than the administrators should, much more than the Yale corporation should, much more than the faculty should. (applause) We say that it's desirable — and we're not saying taking their power and using it for extremist measures or using it to destroy the university — we're saying the majority of the

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eliminate ROTC from major college campuses could, if successful, strike a major blow at the Amerikan military. They point to the following statement of Colonel Pell, Army ROTC commander at Harvard to back up this belief: "Let it be understood without question that there is no acceptable alternative source of junior officer leadership if ROTC is driven from the college campus."

A careful reading of our collection of national anti-ROTC actions plus a cursory reading of the major dailies should convince anyone that such a national campaign is underway, and Army statistics showing a 25 percent drop in college ROTC enrollment last year indicates that the campaign is having its effect.

But don't students who want to have the right to be a part of ROTC if they choose to? This question of rights has been raised over and over again by the press and at the University. It seems to be a phony, hypocritical and dishonest argument. Do the people who espouse such absolute personal rights really believe that everyone should have the right to do whatever he wants regardless of its consequences to others? Do they believe, for instance, that Nazi Germany should have had the right to exterminate Jews and enslave Europe? Does the Ku Klux Klan have the right to lynch blacks? If the defenders of ROTC students' civil rights really believe in unlimited personal freedom, then it seems strange that they don't grant anti-ROTC students the right to burn down buildings and disrupt classes. If this is really what the Post and Globe mean when they whine about the rights of the ROTC cadets, then they have their nerve calling the militant WU students unbridled anarchists.

Clearly, if pushed, almost everyone would agree that all personal rights have their limits. ROTC is a training program for the Amerikan military which is waging a war with every conventional means at its disposal against the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The anti-ROTC students have again and again, in speeches and pamphlets, sided with the Liberation Front against the Amerikan Army in this war. In such a situation it is as absurd to expect the anti-ROTC, pro-NLF students to acknowledge the Amerikan Army's right to train officers as it would be to expect the Amerikan Army to grant the NLF its right to train soldiers in Vietnam. That is simply not the way wars are fought. Those who oppose American military presence in Southeast Asia and support the struggle of the National Liberation Front to liberate Vietnam cannot at the same time sensibly support the "right" of the Amerikan army to train officers to fight the Vietnamese war.

Weren't there more traditional non-violent, non-disruptive methods through which the students could have terminated the ROTC program on the campus? The students thought so but by the end of this year's fall semester they became convinced that there were no such methods. During the past five years leftist students at Washington University have worked hard to establish representative methods of decision making at the University. They thought they had achieved a certain amount of power for the student government control over their own dormitories and freedom of expression for the student newspaper. This year they saw those achievements taken away. Early in the second semester the W.U. administration acted to reimpose hours in the dormitories; they attacked the student newspaper for obscenity and threatened to withdraw its funds; and when the student government unanimously called for a binding yes-no vote on ROTC they refused to allow the vote. These actions created a crisis situation on the campus. Students made another effort to resolve the crisis peacefully. The student government set up a panel discussion involving students and faculty members with varying points of view as well as the Washington University chancellor and vice chancellor. Both administrators refused to appear. It was these actions by the Washington University administration which transformed a campus which had avoided major disorders into a battle ground of confrontation and violence. For it was these actions which left students opposed to ROTC (or those seeking any other kinds of change) the options of either accepting defeat or engaging in confrontations.

The events of the past three months on the Washington U. campus should make it abundantly clear to everyone that when faced with a situation in which their only options are to accept a status-quo which they consider unjust and immoral or fight to change it, a large and growing number of students will choose to fight. It should also be obvious that a large and growing number of students at Washington U. and elsewhere will not accept an Amerikan military and economic policy of domination of Third World peoples. And they refuse to accept university complicity in such a policy. The events of the past three months at Washington U. and the disorders of the past weeks across the nation make it clear that we avoid these lessons at our peril.

Midwest Woodstock?

By Crystal
(Roosevelt High Student)

Why can't the Midwest have a Woodstock? Why? The answer is long and tedious. The residents of Carbondale, Illinois, have placed an injunction in defense of themselves and their property. Why? Because they're scared. Scared of what, you may ask.

After the rock festival at Woodstock, many fantasies and false illusions were created about the happenings there. Many people had the gullibility to believe those reports without question. There were fantasies that went so far as to say that the people at Woodstock tore the property into shreds, stamped the crops, polluted the air with grass, littered the landscape with coke bottles, candy wrappers, etc., and then when it was all over just packed up and left.

But hardly anyone even bothered to mention the love and peace which was practiced at the three day rock festival. They didn't bother mentioning the people that gave their food away to others. Or the people that took their own shirts off and gave them to some perfect stranger so that they might be sheltered from the steady rain and cold weather. No, they could not mention these beautiful happenings, but they didn't hesitate to report the births, or the two deaths, or the smoking of cheap pot.

So there you have it gang. The *real* reason why we can't have a Woodstock. The people are scared. They don't want to see peace and brotherhood practiced. They don't want to see the *real* freedom. No, they'd rather shy away from reality and place injunctions to keep us out. So there will be no Woodstock in the Midwest, because of the lies some pigs decided to create in defense of their own secret fears.

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Creedence clearwater revival

LIBERATION News Service

BERKELEY, Calif. — *The following interview with John Fogerty, lead singer and guitarist for Creedence Clearwater Revival, was conducted last month at Creedence's rehearsal studio on the shores of San Francisco Bay. It was meant to deal with subjects not covered in depth in the excellent Rolling Stone interview with Fogerty that appeared a couple of months back.*

LNS: In the Rolling Stone interview that you did, you said you weren't sure that people were listening to your words. Like some people were saying that they thought it was Good Time music, that they liked to dance to it, that kind of stuff — which is good — but that you thought you were saying something more than that — with songs like Proud Mary . . .

JOHN: Actually, I was quoting other people, quoting a lot of reviews I've read about us. It's sort of a tongue-in-cheek statement because, well really straight reviewers, I don't really know what their view is but obviously *they're* not listening, so I guess they take it for granted that nobody else is. And it started bugging me after a while that they kept saying the same old thing — dance music, good time, ad nauseum . . . there was nothing there but beat, etc.

LNS: Well, you don't want to get into a thing of just looking at the words, not as the total thing you want to do. You're saying something in the music itself. Like, I get a certain kind of feeling of turmoil and unrest, something that relates very much to the type of thing that's going on now — the Conspiracy trial, the repression of the Panthers, the war and just the whole sense of frustration you get about all that stuff. And I think that, more than a lot of rock groups, your music really does speak to that.

JOHN: Well, I'm not a Tin Pan Alley writer. I don't write on commission — you know, come up with three tunes for a musical or something. So I guess its just that I write about whatever I know about — which I don't presume to be a lot. I'm trying to talk about at least what I'm personally frustrated about or what I see from the middle — cause I usually consider, well, I usually try and say I'm in the middle. But I think I'm not, actually.

LNS: What do you mean by being in the middle . . ?

JOHN: Well, I think it's trying to be really objective all the time, and even though I consider myself really objective I find myself on the left most of the time.

LNS: That's where the truth is now.

JOHN: Well, yeah, I don't know why it's come to mean that. Academically you'd think the middle would be the best place to be, right? Obviously you're not an extremist in either sense. But I think what's happening in this country is that since the right is so much in control — no one questions that, you know, and I think you have to be on the left just to raise a question. That's the position I find myself in anyway. Like, in other words, if you're in the middle like someone like Hubert Humphrey you're really not doing anything and — this gets really vague at this point, talking in abstract . . .

I'll tell you the truth about that whole subject, as far as I can see. The people who do burn down buildings or cause, you know, more than just apathetic trouble — people that really cause violence — I'm in favor of. I won't do it myself. But I'm sure glad somebody did, cause the people like me who want change, let's say, and really aren't quite reactive enough to go out and burn flags and whatever are, well, I am anyway, I'm glad that it's happening. Just to bring attention to the problem. Because no attention is given, otherwise. I consider myself middle of the road, but I'm not and I know it, because of the way I think of things now. Like I give this country about ten more years at the rate we're going. I'm a real avid history student, by the way. I would say ten more years, for me. That's how long I'll wait before I go out in the street and start saying Power for the People and literally want to take it away — take it away physically — from Spiro Agnew, and Nixon, and the publishing concerns in this country, or the radio stations . . .

LNS: Or the record industry . . .

JOHN: Yeah, and I really mean that. It's like, sure, we could get into this bit of "Oh change takes time" and all that sort of thing, but this is when I find myself suddenly far, far left. Because, I'm willing to be middle of the road right now, and I'm willing to sit and listen to all this crap about how yeah, we're gonna have real integration, real equality. But then, day by day, everything Spiro says nullifies it, right down the line. You can just tell where he's at, he's just stopping it cold every single time. And I know that that's what people our age went through 30 years ago. They just gave up, I suppose, most of them, anyway. They thought oh, it's too big for us. And that's what I mean. Like ten more years of it I'll put up with, and then I won't anymore. I'll be advocating real revolution. And I think it's really close.

LNS: But you have to wait ten years . . .

JOHN: Yeah, because I've just grown into it. I'm in my early twenties, and I'm willing to give all the people our age a chance to try and reason with these people, the ones that are in control. The power structure . . .

LNS: They could get you on the same law they got the Conspiracy on. You go play a concert and somebody breaks a window . . .

JOHN: Right. They could, very easily. And that's why I want to sort of keep it cool, that way . . . agh, but then I don't, at the same time. It's really — it's a weird thing. I'm not going to go as far as I think I can go, or anything like that. I see that on really radical people, too. It looks like they're not as sincere as — well, Peace and Freedom Party, here, whew!, we all joined that with really high hopes. And those guys turned out to be Nazis. They were more interested in their own power than they were in what was happening. And that really bugged me.

LNS: Did that experience make you approach other radical groups in a lot cooler kind of way?

JOHN: No, I just — again, I know history pretty good. It's happened a zillion times, and yet the problem they all say they're trying to solve is still with us.

LNS: I want to pursue that about their being interested in their own power rather than in what's going on. I mean, could you clarify that? Interested in recruiting people to Peace and Freedom and acting like big-shots rather than reaching people?

JOHN: Right. In other words, like we played a couple of rallies, and the guys got very hung up in the uniform thing — armbands, hats, walkie-talkies. You can almost picture knee-high glossy boots on the cat. SS troopers walking around. And they have this pose, this really authoritaritive or whatever the word is pose, that looked like Goering and all those cats. And as it went on and the thing began to dissolve more and more, they became more of a hard-core center. And as an outside observer, well, sort of inside, I just began to see that they got hung up on giving orders, and having people believe what they believe, and all that sort of thing. And not in recruiting let's say the mass numbers that it takes an idea to have. Again, there's so many of us who know what the Administration or the government in general or the moneyed people of this country — we know that that's wrong, the way they do it.

LNS: There aren't too many of us . . .

JOHN: There aren't enough of us, no. Not to do it by sheer standing there, and you know it's like, "Bring in your army." And then no one will do anything. They'll just let you get your way. Right now they'll fight back, throw us in jail, all of us. If they have to.

LNS: That's the thing, you know, what you mentioned before, that we don't have enough people now. That's precisely where music may have a role, in educating people and raising their understanding, in talking about what society's like. Like LNS puts out information and graphics to try and tell people what's going on, and I think that musicians can play a very similar role. And I think you do, in a lot of ways. And I wonder if that's what you see yourself trying to do?

JOHN: Yeah, but not 100 per cent of the time. In other words, I'm trying to make music, too. I mean I was born with a love of being a musician. And I can almost alienate myself from everything else and just be that, you know. And not even be sorry about the problems. And it's not because like now we've made it we don't have to worry about it or something. Cause I was that way when I was 14, too. I could alienate myself from my mom, you know, same thing. But there is a, I think it's more the spirit of what's said rather than what is said. Especially for a musician, cause unless you're Bob Dylan or somebody — and he's kind of lost the shimmer that he had a couple of years ago anyway. Not cause of anything he's done. Just he was out there so long, by himself, you know, and he hasn't said much recently, that's all. It's not like, because he made Nashville Skyline or anything like that. Anyway, I think the role of a musician — oh let's say not a musician. It's really a writer, you know, or a person that speaks, in between the songs. If his thinking is cohesive, if it's somewhat together, people can follow it. Take out of it whatever there is to hear. But if he's just a jumble of "protest" it's hard for even me, realizing that there are a lot of things to protest, it's hard to get behind a guy like that. That's all he ever says. He's got no idea of what to do, or where he's going, or anything. Just everything's *crummy* all the time, you know. That gets very old to me very quick. I can go the rest of my life without ever hearing another protest song, *per se*, you know. Eve of Destruction and all that kind of rot. And a lot of time I question the motives of those songs anyway. I think they're more commercial than anything, y'know . . . I don't consider myself all that much together yet, on a wide

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enough scope of things, to be able to be that much of an influence. But there are a few things I see quite clearly, and I want to talk about those, when I talk about things, you know. Like, say, the racial issue, or the bigger issue of just pure inequality. It's you and me in front of the courts and it's John Rockefeller in front of the courts, you know. There's just something wrong. Or the way the tax system is set up to where millionaires pay no taxes and people who make four grand a year gotta pay three grand of that to the government.

LNS: But what's your role in that?

JOHN: Well, I try not to say anything unless I know what I'm saying. That's why I can't write twenty political songs – there isn't, I don't have that much material in me. Fortunate Son was a very real problem to me, and Who Will Stop the Rain the same thing. An attempt, maybe – but like at the end of Who Will Stop the Rain I had a little tongue-in-cheek at myself. Because here I go, you know, spreading more shit. I'm just raising more flak, too. I'm not solving any problem – I'm talking about the problem. But haven't we enough of that already?

But that doesn't mean I'm gonna roll over and die, just cause someone else already said it. I think you can shed new light on something without being – I think the word is rhetoric, really, I'm trying to get at. I don't want to be uttering cliches and cliches and cliches, you know. Cause that's not even constructive. Like I'm thinking of two different things. One, I'm trying to separate the music. I'm trying to be – I don't know what, I guess everyman, you know. But I'm not trying to be a musician. Like Fortunate Son, or especially Who Will Stop the Rain – hopefully some more that will say it better. See the idea is, with a pretty melody more people are apt to listen to the words than with the vocal hidden behind eight fuzz-tone guitars and a drum. Really that's why Dylan was so accessible. Just him and a guitar, you could understand what he was saying all of the time. And he had a lot to say – *then*.

LNS: What we want to do is reach lots of people, lots of people that we haven't even begun to reach. And music is a way. But there are lots of limitations – like the price of a record, or the price of admission to a concert. It's really true that there are a lot of people to whom you are less available because of that thing. And I'm curious as to what you think about that and, more important, what you're trying to do, if anything to rectify that in some way. Like you say that you probably won't play for free. But if there was a group around that seemed reliable and all . . .

JOHN: Yeah, we're playing benefits. But you can't do that all the time. When we do our free concerts we want it to be a real thing – not a scam where we're making, you know, Altamont or something. OK now that we bled you for $15 a night for a seat, now we'll do a free concert, U.S.A.

LNS: Tokenism.

JOHN: Yeah, it was. And it's hard to get around it, cause anybody in public life is subject to some kind of tokenism to somebody's head, you know. And I'm not really trying to say, hey, I'm good for you all. I can't rationalize everything away. But what I'm trying to say is, for sure we have to be profitable, we have to be a going concern. Otherwise we'll end up like the Grateful Dead, with other people having to play benefits for us, in order to keep us going. And that – that's wierd, it really is.

LNS: What kind of things do you envision as happening. You mentioned that we may have to take it away from Nixon physically. You said that you can understand the use of violence, and things like that. Those are concepts that we're talking about a lot . . .

JOHN: Too far out . . .

LNS: I think that you can talk aobut them in a too far out way and turn a lot of people off. But if you deal in the language that other people use, and I think you do, then you can help them see those far-out things as a possiblity. But could you explain more what you foresee?

JOHN: Well, I'm a fatalist, I really am. I mean I foresee revolution. I really do.

LNS: What does that mean?

JOHN: The people taking it away. In my lifetime there's going to be chaos in this country. I mean real chaos, the kind that destroys the economic system – just a mess. You see, young people are starting more and more to think that way. We see the things that are wrong, and we don't want to end up dying with those things still wrong. Older people, they've got their cheesecake, they've got their Mustang. That's O.K. Cause they had nothing. They were brought up in the depression. We were brought up in the middle class post-war atmosphere. And we don't think that's were it's at, you know, having a TV set and a car and I'll keep quiet. Because there's 25-30 million people here in this country that don't have that.

LNS: So you think people will have to move . . .

JOHN: Yeah. And I'm not advocating it. I'm just saying that's the way I see it. I really do. I may be – I'll probably be one of them.

LNS: I think that a serious problem in a lot of music is that women are treated kind of like objects . . .

JOHN: That's right. And I've written a few of those myself.

LNS: Women don't want to be treated like that anymore, and how is music going to relate to that?

JOHN: You know that's really weird though. Cause I had an all night discussion with my wife about that. And she didn't even know what I was talking about. She did in the way that women are always put down by men. But she didn't understand when I kept saying, you know, that it's always, that male . . . I was taking her side, or what should have been her side – the male superior attitude – always, in everything. And like halfway through I left her – she didn't realize that, just who does the hiring and firing? Or who's supposed to run the household? Or who's the breadwinner, who makes the decisions – all the way down to, you know, that kind of thing. She left right there. She didn't dig the fact that, well, when you're talking especially about sex and the female responsibility of the family and the whole bit – it's all in her lap, you know. That part she understood. But she didn't want to put an end to love songs. She didn't want a lack of pursuing anymore. Now this is probably just my wife and her middle class Catholic background, you know. But I began to feel that maybe they're objecting only mildly – not all the way across the boards. To make it almost a neuter society, where both are the same. Where women are totally equal to men in everything. I'm not sure – you know, it's a man made system that we created, where the man is the go-getter, woman is the household thing. And OK the new liberation and all that has changed possibility, but not actual fact. But I just don't know. I don't know where that will go.

LNS: And rock music is just full of that stuff.

JOHN: And it always has been. And it probably always will be, as far as "rock" music goes. Good time, nothing songs. You know like Traveling Band or something. You know, or Chooglin.

LNS: What about women in groups? Why is it that there aren't many women in rock groups?

JOHN: Well, I think there just aren't that many good girl entertainers. The majority of the old established kind always used sex. And the rest – like with the all girl bands or the rock groups that we saw, the girl was usually the weakest link. But when you get somebody like Gracie Slick that really is talented – I don't comment on Janis at all. But I think there aren't many because it starts at the grass roots level. That they're not encouraged when they're four to grow up and do that, you know.

LNS: That's why it's important to keep in touch with what's going on. For example, knowing that there's a women's liberation movement, knowing some of the things that they're talking about, knowing what the capitalistic media – McCall's and all that – says about them. And to try and understand it. Even if no songs are written about it, it's important to be sensitive in your music to the connotations of words and stuff like that. And I think most groups really just don't stay in touch.

JOHN: Groups can answer that very well. Most musicians are so busy trying to make it that they really have no right to be talking about anything other than music. Most musicians live from 9 at night to 5 in the morning anyway. That's a different world. And they're mostly concerned with you know, catching the local fox, and guzzling booze or smoking dope or whatever, and that's it. They're not doing anything else. They do a lot of rapping even maybe, but it's that pointless rap that goes around in circles and never gets anywhere.

LNS: I know a lot of people took Bad Moon Risin to be a song that talked about repression. I know a lot of underground papers used quotes from that song as a headline and stuff like that. It didn't say anything specifically, but it gives a whole mood – through the words and the music – that fits very well into things like the Conspiracy trial, Fred Hampton's murder, you know, just all those things. I know this sounds like a very normal question and all that, but did you have those sorts of things in mind when you wrote it?

JOHN: No. I had it in mind after I wrote it, but not when I wrote it. In other words, I saw how it fit and I dug that part, but actually I was just – when I wrote the song talking about natural catastrophe. It's as simple as what I said. I was trying to show, sure you can bullshit about this, you can try and colonize Vietnam and you can have eight million bucks in your lifetime or whatever, but when you get done a hurricane can come and wipe you out. A lot of people have said the same thing. Later, I saw, yeah, wow, this fits here. And I liked it because it was so ambiguous, I guess that it could mean a lot of things. A lot of my songs are that way, quite often. But the original intent was simply natural catastrophe.

LNS: Like you said before that somebody may have to blow up a building or something like that . . .

JOHN: Let me explain that again. That isn't what I want to happen. I'm just saying that I'm almost totally convinced that it's going to.

LNS: I'm just curious as to what sort of movements, either historically or currently, you feel an affinity for. Like for example, how you feel about Cuba. Or about Vietnam. Do you see that as related to this country?

JOHN: Oh, it's the same problem everywhere. Every society on earth has it, this roblem. The problem is that few are speaking for many. The larger problem is that outside forces are coming in to help speak for the few, which is what we do in Vietnam. Vietnamese aren't running their country. You know, Thieu, or those people, Ky, are no more Vietnamese than Richard Nixon is American. He's selling democracy to us and the rest of the world – it isn't real democracy, but that's his symbol, his trade name. But what they're really doing is perpetrating the power class.

I can dig Castro for at least telling this or that or the other guy to get f-----. You've been there, I haven't. All I can say is as a kind of a vague outsider I wonder how well he's doing at becoming of the people, not looking like he's of the people. I don't know. I'm not really into it that much.

LNS: You could probably go if you want to.

JOHN: That might be fun. I don't mean fun like a party, I mean fun interesting. But I don't want to go as a personality or something. That's a drag.

JOHN: . . . We went out and got busted in Richmond for putting up signs that said something to the effect that "The Benign Mask has Fallen, the Iron Fist Explodes" – we were protesting riot control in the Army Reserves, of which I was a member at the time. I guess I talked about that in there (points to Rolling Stone interview - ed.) Anyway, we got busted for it, and obviously if it was saying things like Kennedy for President or something, there would have been no problem. It was just the content. We did it the same day Bobby Kennedy came to S. F., May 22nd of '68, purposely that day. Cause I had a map that day showing all this area in San Francisco – where we were putting up posters – and it looked like a huge conspiracy. The cop just freaked out. When they let us out finally, we wanted our signs back. And they said, "you get out of here, you liberal agitators, or I'll show you what that Iron Fist can do." He just fell right into place. Incredible!

The Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures at Washington University announces that it is now possible to fulfill the language requirement by taking Swedish. The following language courses will be offered beginning in the fall term of 1970.

Scand. 101-102. Elementary Swedish
Scand. 211-212. Intermediate Swedish
and an Introductory course to Danish.

In addition to the language courses, the following literature course will be offered as part of the Scandinavian program:

Scand. 315-316. Scandinavian Literature in English Translation: Readings and Interpretation I and II. (Identical with Comparative Literature 315-316) A history of Scandinavian literature presented in broad outlines, from the development of the medieval Icelandic saga literature to the contemporary Scandinavian drama and novel. Representative works of Holberg, Kierkegaard, Jacobsen, Ibsen, Strindberg, Hamsun, Lagerkvist, Vesaas, Myrdal et al. will be read. The course will also include an introduction to Scandinavian mythology, viewing of several of Ingmar Bergman's films, analysis of the screenplays, and a discussion of contemporary Scandinavian literature of social criticism.

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By Gail Pellett

Women are getting themselves together. "We're in it because we're angry and we want to be free," says Marlene Dixon, a spokeswoman for Women's Lib who was in St. Louis recently. "Only damaged people," she says, "can understand that thirst to be whole. Women want a revolution more than we want our own lives."

Women are struggling against oppression which they feel economically, socially, psychologically and sexually. The predefined roles of wife and mother are socially conditioned into women from childhood . . . getting a man, pleasing him, being a GOOD wife and mother are her ultimate goals. If she dares to define her own existence creatively she feels guilty, unfeminine, perhaps even sexless.

Women are doubly exploited as workers in that their median annual income is one-third to one half of men's, they are tracked in the educational system for menial, subserviant, service jobs, which lead nowhere. They are denied opportunities for advancement or are discouraged from trying for anything which would improve their situation. This situation reinforces a woman's desire to get married, quit work, live in suburbia. But many married women have to work from economic necessity as well. They carry a triple burden since childcare is their sole responsibility and day care centers are virtually non-existent. The largest part of her salary goes to babysitters. Whether she works or not she is still expected to do all the housework, cleaning, washing, cooking, etc. The majority of poverty families are headed by women . . . their situation is a brutally viscious circle.

One women's liberation group has coined women's roles as "secretary, sexpot, sow, spender, civic actor and sickie;" each reinforces the other and all are dehumanizing. Women are the prime target of Madison Avenue because they are viewed as a passive market, easily manipulated. Because she has never defined her own existence, never defined for herself what it is to be female, she seeks identity through things, products, children, husband, men . . . even radical men.

Since the usual function of a woman in a capitalistic society is not one of primary wage earner she holds less political power in society and thus the "myth" about the inferiority of women. It is a short step from the inferiority myth to turning into sex objects . . . to sell products and gratify men (Playboy sickness). Women themselves are sold the idea they must be sexy for men. Her physiological weakness (very feminine — socially conditioned) creates psychological weakness, dependency and submissiveness. Add sexual objectification and the result is constant sexual harassment and sadistic sexual crimes by men and ultimate mind-fucks for women. Existing abortion laws and inadequate birth control methods deny her control over her own body.

Because women's oppression now exists for social and economic reasons, the liberation of women is totally dependent on the total change of the social and economic structure of our society.

What about men? They are exploited by the capitalist system as well. They are programmed into roles, too. But their oppression is never as complete as Women's. These "oppressed-oppressors" dominate politically, socially, culturally, etc. in our society. The legal, educational, economic, corporate systems are their creation — a white male power structure — capitalist, pig, racist and sexist!

It is the oppressed who must first struggle to change their situation. Marlene Dixon has stated that the heart of the struggle must be for "self-determination, to foster the idea of the women's movement as an army of liberation." But this must be an international one because the capitalist ruling class transcends national boundaries. Imperialism — the logical extension of capitalism — means exploitation of workers, blacks, women and Third World peoples throughout the world. Amerikan women, according to Marlene Dixon, are "a colony within a colony" and women across the world must come to see themselves as "total revolutionaries" if the intercolonial system is to be overthrown.

The women's liberation movement identifies with the struggle of all oppressed peoples for human freedom!

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Women are the prime target of Madison Avenue, not only as a passive market with a need to create an identity through products, but also as sexual objects to increase men's desire for products, as this ad shows.

600 Strike Ends Teamsters Trade Trouble

By George Lipsitz

The strike by Teamsters Local 600 has ended but the frustration and anger which caused it remain. After 37 days of going without pay, braving court injunctions, and putting their bodies and their possessions on the line to support their cause, the members of Local 600 are no better off now than they were the day before the strike started. Their prospects for the future appear even worse.

Despite all the talk by politicians and the news media about "power plays" and "internal union conflicts," the basic reason for the strike by Local 600 was dissatisfaction with a perfectly terrible national contract which calls for only $1.10 an hour raise over the next three years. When the rank and file membership heard about the $1.10 offer, they were so angry they simply walked off their jobs in protest. The strike was never officially sanctioned by the union, it was completely a product of the dissatisfaction of the members, who had a lot to be angry about.

The past few years have been difficult ones for the union man and his family. Prices have gone up 18 per cent since 1965 while the buying power of workers has declined 3 per cent. A teamster making $7,800 last year paid about a third of that for taxes and even with wage increases found that he could only buy about 80 per cent of what he could buy in 1965.

The reason for that situation is inflation, a process by which prices go up and up and dollars can buy less and less. The Nixon administration wants people to believe that inflation has been caused by the greedy wage demands of labor, but every working man who has seen his income shrink while corporate profits have increased by 94.5 per cent in the last ten years, knows that is not the case.

Inflation has been caused by the unwillingness of the government to impose price and wage controls to pay for its war in Vietnam. The $30 billion spent on Vietnam each year means less consumer goods for the U.S. even though people still want them. That drives prices up and causes workers to demand higher wages.

However, since the government is trying to pretend that the war doesn't cost anything, it has been unable to take action to check inflation. In 1968, the inflationary rate was 6.1 per cent, the highest for any year since the Korean war. The Nixon administration talks of cooling down the economy, but what they mean is making the victims of inflation responsible for fighting it; by encouraging large scale unemployment and outrageously low wages for workers.

The rash of strikes and labor disputes this year is no accident; it is the result of a deliberate strategy on the part of the government to cause a recession in the hopes that if people don't have any money, prices will have to go down. In an interview with U.S. News and World Report, Dr. Arthur Burns, Nixon's chief advisor on economic affairs, said that bringing inflation under control would "require stern measures of restriction and they will bring with them unemployment — probably on a large scale."

That policy is already showing its effects. The unemployment rate for April was 4.8 per cent as compared with an average of 3.5 per cent for all of last year. Starting with the General Electric strike, the Nixon administration has been urging business to "hold the line" and make their workers accept low wages on the theory that if workers are unemployed or have no money prices will come down. This is of course absolutely untrue. If workers are unemployed and have no money they will starve and become desperate. Layoffs today mean reduced consumption tomorrow and each move to "slow down" the economy will make things worse.

The members of Teamsters Local 600, like the GE strikers, the Post Office Workers, the air traffic controllers, and all the other workers that have gone or that will go on strike, understand what is happening in this country very well. Unwilling to be held in check by the unions, they are ready to take militant action: to defy the courts, to fight cops, to protect their strike against scabs, and in short, do whatever is necessary to stand up for their own interests. Their struggle is a difficult one and they need allies. As long as it is one local or even one union out on strike, the bosses and the government will be able to wait them out as they did with Local 600 and force them back to work with nothing gained.

But come fall, when unemployment figures reach 5 or 6 per cent, when purchasing power continues to decline, when taxes increase — this country may see a grass roots uprising of working people the likes of which it has never seen before.

←9

students should take their power and use it to save the institution, dig it, to save the institution. (applause) You have the power to do that, and we're saying that a general strike is just the right tactic to use.

You can close Yale down, and you can make Yale demand the immediate release of the New Haven Panthers. You can make Yale stop its exploitation of the workers here on campus, because they are being exploited. You can make Yale stop its exploitation of the black community, you can do that. You can make Yale stop its exploitation and oppression of the blacks on the Yale campus, you can do that, you have the power to do that, you have the power to do that politically if you want to do it politically. We're saying that you have the power to change things on this level so it won't progress to another, more bloody level.

What happens at Yale depends upon what you want to happen. If there is a bloodbath in New Haven, then I think that bloodbath would have to be the responsibility of the majority of people at Yale who know that there are some human beings who are going to get killed, but don't know how to move to deal with that. The bloodbath will be on the consciences of those people at Yale, those types of people. And I'm saying that that is undesirable, that if I was a student at Yale I wouldn't want this on my conscience, I wouldn't want history painting a very dirty and ugly picture about this problem that we have here in New Haven. I'm saying that we can deal with the problems we have in New Haven in a very nonviolent manner, that we can make Yale come around by closing it down, that we can force Yale into a position of saying something concrete and demanding the Panthers' release. We can demand that Yale establish day care centers for the children of the workers here on campus, and for black people in the community. (applause)

We can make the demand that Yale stop allowing the courts of Amerika to be used as a fascist tool to destroy the struggle of black people for our human rights, you can demand that. You can do that. You can demand that people like Adolf Hitler Hoffman in Chicago be disrobed and thrown off the bench, because he's doing these things in your name so you have to stand up and speak against this type of activity.

The world is saying this: that fascism is arriving in Amerika and white people in Amerika or the Amerikan people are seemingly condoning this because they aren't standing up and dealing with the things that are happening, they aren't standing up and demanding that the government stop taking away the democratic rights of the people here in Amerika. The world is watching Amerika, and the fate of Amerika depends upon the young of Amerika, depends upon these people out here. Depends upon where you want to move, and how you want to deal with the problems you are facing.

You are carrying a very heavy burden, and I know you are all gonna have to think about some of the things I said today — I want you to think very seriously because while you are thinking, people in the black community are still dying, still being shot down. While you're thinking, another child goes hungry in the community. While you're thinking, another child eats some chipped lead paint and acquires lead poisoning because we don't have enough day care centers. While you're thinking the process still goes on. The struggle still goes on in the black community, for survival, for liberation, for justice and for our human rights. So we say you can't ponder upon this point too long, that it must be weighed, it must be weighed quickly, and if action is to be taken, that action must be taken very soon.

I'd like to thank you all very much for listening to me, and I hope that you all can understand now the seriousness of the problem we all face. All power to the people.

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Wind River Bill And The Incumbents

By Tom Scribner

(Editor's note: Tom Scribner is a retired lumberjack living in California. He is 71 years old and has been involved in radical politics since the age of 14 when he joined the Industrial Workers of the World. During his fifty years as a lumberjack he edited two newspapers, the Lumberjack News and the Redwood Ripsaw. He is still involved in what he calls "this damned struggle for a decent world" as evidenced by the article below which he sent to us recently.)

Ran into old Wind River Bill Taggert the other day, and he was hopping mad: (He is an old timer, about 75 now who used to be a riggin' slinger up Columbia River way in the big logging camps, and before that was a river pig back in Minnesota). It seems as though he turned into a kind of extrovert on account of hollering at the other workers like the time over in Carson, Washington in 1916 when he yelled at me.

Well, to get back to the story of old Wind River Bill. Like I say, I ran into him the other day and he was mad clear thru. (He is holed up in a shack up in the Santa Cruz mountains, and retired.) Anyway he was mad! So when he saw me on the street he hollers Hi, young 'un! (He always calls me that even though I am 71 now.) He says: "Old Barney Tuke has been giving me your paper (the Redwood Ripsaw) and whilst it's pretty fair at times it never says anything about voting agin' the damned incumbents. I went and got registered just so I could vote agin' every damned incumbent they was because they are worse than the Democrats and Republicans you are always roaring about. And another thing young 'un, (he always calls me that), go back into history as far as you want and comes a depression or war, who is in office? Incumbents, that's who! And what do they do about it? Nothing – that's what, and I'm getting fed up on those damned incumbents, and so help me young 'un (he always calls me that) I'm gonna flat vote agin' every damned incumbent they is in office!"

Well, the man wouldn't let me explain, so I just gave him a paper and went on. This might well serve as a warning to all politicos in office to quit horsing around with this cold war baloney and get something done for the common folks or suffer the fate of the "incumbents."

CREDITS

The sketch of Bobby Seale appearing on page eight of this issue was drawn by Gung, Shu. The cartoon that we ran as the cover of our first issue was drawn by Willie Laird.

←6

oinkers began to hassle them. Approximately eight bikers were told to leave the premises for wearing their colors, another person for indecent exposure (the boy wasn't wearing a shirt). One cop told the remaining few that they should leave, someone answered, "Officer why don't you leave" and he was immediately escorted out of the zoo. One bystander reported hearing officer Oldani (badge 1406) mentioning something about someone wanting to hit him and saying, "If he would have hit me, I would have shot him." He was asked if he meant he would have killed him and reportedly said, "Yes! It's a felony to hit me, I would have killed him."

Over the CB radio we heard the warning that a band of hippies were marching into the zoo. There they were. Two-hundred strong, shouting, "We want our permit" with such an overwhelming look of pride upon their faces (proud of what they are and what they are doing) that not even the pigs could stop them. They halted and gathered around the flagpoles. The oinkers thrust forward in their blue uniforms, swinging their heavy clubs, pushing through the crowd with hate clenched in their fists. They set up a line of offense while plainclothesmen and other pigs arrested two from the crowd. One was Tony, the other a professional photographer who had happened to be walking past the flag pole and took pictures at the scene.

The crowd was hassled around and they split back to the pavillion, minus two individuals and with a hell of a loss of faith in the system. People were rapping how they had never been involved in peace marches, "but when they take our music away, then we're going to fight." And they're going back to the zoo, probably before this is ever read by the public. If nothing is accomplished then it's time for the community to gather at the park and about 2200 march to the zoo and TELL the pigs, zoo officials, and visitors our problems. We hope to see you there next Sunday and the following (if need be to bring back the free concerts for those who want to be free). Outlaw wants to help the people get their music – but the people will have to help themselves. If you want the music to continue then be at the park May 17th and the following Sunday. If not, then stay home.

←1

should conduct themselves nonviolently. This line of nonviolence was also picked up by opportunistic liberals who saw the chance to manipulate revulsion against imperialism into a few more seats in Congress for them.

Let's get some things straight about nonviolence. The cynical government officials and university presidents who prattle about nonviolence with regard to demonstrations know nothing about nonviolence and don't care to. They are simply seeking to cloak their selfish aims in what they feel to be a morally respectable position. The war and war research, the starvation of children, the deliberate limiting of human capabilities for selfish ends – are all means of violence and a nonviolent person would oppose them.

As usual, the most significant hypocrisy came from the liberals. After justifying their silence about the persecution of the Black Panther Party, their participation in the very institutions which profit from and prolong the war and the war economy, and their acquiescence to the war on the grounds that they don't have much power, they then encouraged young people to work through the very institutions which have proved powerless to stop the war. The inability of liberals in Congress to stop the President from going into Cambodia is not due to a "constitutional crisis" as they maintain. Rather it is due to a crisis of power whereby the military-industrial-complex has so much power that private citizens are powerless to stop it.

In St. Louis, there was much activity accompanying the strike, some of it genuinely concerned with ending the war (i.e., fighting imperialism – the system whereby the United States oppresses people in Asia and Latin America for profit and prevents those peoples from determining their own destinies) but far too much of it was reminiscent of the McCarthy campaign where saving the Democratic Party became a more important issue than ending the war.

At the University of Missouri at St. Louis, Washington University, Forest Park Community College, and Southern Illinois University attempts were made to make the strikes relate to the three national demands and recognize the true causes of the war. While these efforts met with varying success, those schools were effectively closed with large numbers of people on each campus striking for the right reasons.

However, there was a large area-wide effort centered at Washington University which aimed at sending people out into neighborhoods to go door to door and have citizens sign a petition about the war. The petitions which were circulated ranged from ineffectual to simply reactionary; calling either for a cut-off of funds for the war in Vietnam by September unless Congress specifies otherwise, or for a withdrawal of troops by June 1971.

The futility of that strategy is obvious: Congress didn't start the war and it can't stop it. Even if people do write their Congressman they know it won't make any difference. The most serious flaw in that approach is not with its futility but with its perspective. It goes to the people with the wrong information, and it tells them to put their faith in meaningless institutions instead of taking actions in their own lives. It urges them to pass the buck – maybe Congress will stop the war, maybe a new President in 1972, maybe . . . maybe . . . maybe? The same useless hopes we have been hearing since 1965.

The radical alternative to canvassing and petitioning to Congress is community organizing. It is based upon the theory that the war in Southeast Asia and American foreign policy is not the result of a power drunk president or a negligent Congress but rather a function of a society where institutions are pervaded with and based upon exploitation. The only way these institutions can be effectively transformed is if the people who participate in them take it upon themselves to alter their nature and direction.

The war will end when we stop it. We will stop it when we understand that it is a part of a larger system of imperialism and when we build a movement which understands that. We will stop the war when we understand why the Vietnamese are fighting, and why people throughout the world are taking heart from their struggle.

No combination of vinegar and honey from Washington (repression and reconciliation), no amount of manipulation by liberals, no amount of lies from the government and the press will be sufficient to preserve the moral obscenity of that war. The war and the system of death which supports it cannot survive in the face of the emerging anti-imperialist movement, and it is that fact which has emerged as the significant lesson of the student strikes.

→ LISTEN TO KDNA . 102.5

Led Zeppelin at Kiel, Bob Plant Stirs Crowd

By Dave Frerker

A few words from Robert Plant, a few chords of Jimmy Page's guitar, and the crowd throughout Kiel was on its feet, beckoned from the stage by the Led Zeppelin.

Strutting about the stage like the Little Red Rooster, Robert Plant drew all eyes upon him; the eyes of wonder, the eyes of amazement, and the female eyes of desire. And to judge from those eyes, the Little Red Rooster wasn't too lazy to crow, especially for those eyes of desire.

Musically, their concert didn't come off nearly as well as their records. Jimmy Page's guitar doesn't have the crying, flowing feeling it once delivered (though his ability with the little black box with antenna on top, brought many an attentive ear to the weird, wailing feedback). Page's solo did show that the artist hadn't lost any of his versatility with the guitar, drawing from it a variety of new sounds.

The drummer and bass player should limit themselves to just a good, hard, steady background beat – though at that, I dare say they'd be but mediocre. When they went into their solos they smothered the excitement that Plant and Page were firing into the crowd.

Robert Plant's strutting about made him the attraction. His communication with the crowd and that incredibly erotic sounding voice kept him king of the barnyard.

But the success of the gig should be judged in relation to its achievement of arousing St. Louis's nationally known apathetic audience out of its shell and turning it into a vibrant, dancing community. To watch the crowd leave its restraints back with the reserve seats and to replace what was shed with a feeling of unity with the people in dancing and digging the music – was the beauty of Woodstock come alive here.

And though, as usual, the acoustics were terrible, the sound bad, and the solos too long, Led Zeppelin brought us something else of value.

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OUTLAW 16

Who Rules St. Louis

One of the reasons we are marching today is to talk about building a city-wide movement. Some of us have begun building a radical movement at Washington University, whose first objective is to off ROTC. But that is only a beginning. Other people have been building movements to liberate black people, end exploitation of women, end the destruction of our environment, and create radical changes at high schools and universities. We need to begin talking about what these different groups have in common, how they can form a strong, united city-wide movement so we can win by working together what we have not been able to win separately.

What we have in common is that the same people run all our lives, that no matter what changes we are trying to make, we end up fighting the same handful of powerful people. When we fight them separately, we are weak and they are strong, because they are united, they have worked together to keep power for a long time. The only way to fight them is for us to get together, to get all our strength where we need it when we need it. None of us is gonna get anything done in this city until we have the kind of united strength that can match the power that the people who run this city have.

There's a group in St. Louis called the St. Louis Research Council. It is run by the most powerful people in the city, the top executives of all the big corporations: McDonnell-Douglas, Monsanto, Emerson Electric, Ralston Purina, Union Electric, Southwestern Bell, Laclede Gas, St. Louis Union Trust, First National City Bank and half a dozen others. The people who run the Research Council are the people who make every major decision in St. Louis.

What does the Research Council do? Its official publication, *A Strategy for Growth*, explains it like this:

> The Boston and Palo Alto areas are dramatic examples of economic growth based upon dominant technological strengths, but they no longer hold exclusive rights to economic benefits derived from science and technology. Other metropolitan areas such as Denver, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C., are successfully tapping their technological capabilities to move into the mainstream of the nation's economic growth.

Okay, let me translate that into what they are really talking about. The large St. Louis corporations have to compete for new business and government contracts with other corporations in other cities. They're finding that universities like MIT and Stanford give corporations in Boston and Palo Alto a competitive edge by doing research that leads to new products, and by training executives, scientists, and technicians. So big business in St. Louis needs universities that can do for corporations here what MIT and Standford do in other cities. That is what the St. Louis Research Council is about, building the kinds of universities that big business needs. In a few years there may well be a Washington Institute of Technology instead of a WU.

What does this mean for building a radical movement in St. Louis? The highways around Boston and Palo Alto are lined for miles and miles with wall to wall defense industries, all of them spin-offs for research, done at MIT and Stanford. That is what the people who run the Research Council want here – more government contracts so they can make more money producing more weapons that kill people, destroy countries, and put down revolutionary struggles for self-determination throughout the Third World and in Amerika.

The same people who run the Research Council also run WU and St. Louis U. Six people who are on the Board of the Research Council are also on the Board of WU. Four people on the Research Council are either on the Lay Board or the President's Council at St. Louis U.

Let me give a couple of examples of how this works. Frederic Peirce is on the Board of the Research Council. He is also on the Board of WU and the President's Council at St. Louis U. Just two days ago, he was named to the Board of McDonnell-Douglas. Charlie Thomas and Carroll Hochwalt retired from Monsanto. Thomas became Chairman of the Board at WU. Hochwalt became Vice-Chairman of the Research Council and is on the Board at St. Louis U. That's what corporation executives do when they retire.

The people who run WU are the people who run Olin Mathieson, the second largest munitions maker in the world; McDonnell-Douglas, which made 3500 Phantom jets to bomb Southeast Asia and will build the main Air Force fighter bomber through the 1980's; Emerson Electric, which until it lost its contract was the nation's largest producer of helicopter cannon systems that are used to destroy Vietnamese villages; and Monsanto, which makes herbicides that destroy crops and do permanent ecological damage in Vietnam, and which own almost as many plants outside the U.S. as it [redacted]

Editor's Note: This is the text of a speech given by Marty Liebowitz at St. Louis University at the conclusion of the May 1 march.

[redacted] does inside. There is one former Secretary of Defense, the founder of the Institute of Defense Analysis and President of MIT, and people on the boards of national corporations like General Motors, Standard Oil of N.J., and AT&T.

We have to come to grips with the fact that corporations in St. Louis are responsible for the deaths of many people in Southeast Asia, and that if we are really against the war and against the imperialist policy it is protecting, we have to start at home and confront the corporations here just as people in other cities are confronting Honeywell, Gulf, General Dynamics, and Boeing.

These companies are the real enemy. They are responsible for the high rate of black unemployment, and the exploitation of women. They steal resources that Third World nations need for economic development. They exploit workers and they are the main sources of pollution. They are directly responsible for ROTC being at WU and St. Louis U., and for the cops being called in to put down the movement to off it.

The same people, the people who run McDonnell-Douglas, Monsanto, Olin Mathieson, First National Bank and St. Louis Union Trust also run St. Louis U.

The people who run the major corporations also run the banks. Eight people on the Board of the Research Council are also on the Board of First National Bank, and four are on the Board of St. Louis Union Trust. St. Louis Union Trust is transfer agent for Olin, Anheuser Busch, Emerson, and Mallinckrodt Chemical; trustree for Ralson Purina, Laclede Gas, Southwestern Bell, and Union Electric; and registrar for Monsanto. First National is registrar for Olin and Emerson. It all fits together tighter than the Chicago Conspiracy.

One law firm: Bryan, Cave, McPheeters, and McRoberts, represents McDonnell-Douglas, Emerson, Anheuser Busch, Ralston Purina, Texaco, First National Bank, St. Louis Union Trust, Washington University, and St. Louis U.

The people who run these corporations directly control more than a hundred thousand jobs in the St. Louis area. They are the institutional racists who refuse to employ blacks. And when Emerson loses the helicopter weapons system contract or McDonnell loses the manned orbital lab contract, they simply fire the people who were working on those projects.

The people who run these corporations run Civic Progress and the Chamber of Commerce. They are responsible for the inadequate schools, the lack of public rapid transit, and the high taxes. They also run the United Fund, which tried to destroy Legal Aid when it defended groups that are trying to end racism and poverty. Through the United Fund they run the welfare system in St. Louis, and are responsible for the total lack of decent humane institutions like Day Care Centers.

The people who run these companies are responsible for most of the pollution in this city, and Monsanto is dumping its pesticides that can no longer be sold in Amerika because of the ecological damage they do, on the Third World.

And, of course, they, along with people like them in other cities, are responsible for the profit from the war in Southeast Asia and the war that could come any time in Latin America. They steal resources that Third World countries need for basic economic development and then build the planes and bombs and guns that are used to put down revolutionary movements that want nothing more than to control their own countries, just like they come down on us when we try to off ROTC or end racism or build decent high schools.

These are the people who run St. Louis. The basis for a city wide movement is a struggle for power to the people. Right now, power is held by a very small group of very powerful people. If we're gonna do anything about building a liveable world, if we're gonna do anything about the problems which all of us face, we have got to take power away from the people who control the lives of high school students, soldiers, Vietnamese, Cambodians, workers, women and Latin Americans. The enemy is the same for all of us. The enemy is McDonnell-Douglas, Olin Mathieson, Monsanto, Emerson Electric, Ralston Purina and the banks and the utilities they control. The enemy is the system of corporate capitalism where decisions are made on the basis of what is profitable instead of what people need, where a few people control the power and use it against the interests of everyone else.

We started a radical movement at WU. We call it WULF, the WU Liberation Front. We need a St. Louis Liberation Front, a radical organization that will struggle against the corporations who run this city and Amerika and most of the world, who will take power from those corporations and put it where it belongs, with the people. We have to begin building that organization now and get ready for a city wide offensive next year against the real enemy, the corporations.

St. Louis May Day march to free political prisoners and off ROTC.